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ABSTRACT

The study described in this paper focused upon providing baseline demographic data and data concerning the need for social, employment, and health services in four Asian American communities in Chicago. The methodology of the research, which included interviewing 800 Korean, Filipino, Japanese, and Chinese individuals, is explained. Demographic characteristics (including language and religious orientation) are described, with special emphasis on family structure and socioeconomic status. Also provided are extensive data on education, employment and income among the four groups. Questions regarding various aspects of the immigration experience were asked of the foreign born respondents to the study questionnaire. Another focus of the study was the perception of problems by Asian Americans and their choice of problem solving activities. Concerns investigated include those of income, employment, medical services, housing, family conflict, and adjustment to American life. Sources of help resorted to by the different groups are discussed, as are their reasons for not seeking help. The relative importance to the respondents of public services, such as child care, bilingual referral, and vocational training, was determined. The results of this examination are synthesized with the previously elicited data. A number of conclusions and recommendations are presented concerning planning and action necessary to build a strong and viable Asian American community in Chicago. An extensive list of bibliographical references is also provided in this document. (GC)

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A STUDY OF ASIAN AMERICANS IN CHICAGO: THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS, PROBLEMS AND SERVICE NEEDS

Final Report

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I INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to provide a baseline of demographic data on four Asian American communities in Chicago along with data concerning the need for social, employment and health services. In addition, it also proposes to recommend appropriate directions for provision of services to this group. Specifically, the goals of the study are as follows; 1) to describe the demographic characteristics of the target population, with special emphasis on family structure and socio-economic status; 2) to study the "problem-solving" activities of these groups and their utilization of available mental health and social service facilities; and 3) to determine the perceived social and mental health needs of these Asian Americans, with particular attention to the experiences of the immigrants.

The rationale for the study is the present lack of information about the needs of the Asian American communities and the minimal usage of available community resources by these groups. Asian Americans have not been included in studies which focus on minority group concerns and therefore it has been difficult to determine the service needs of these ethnic groups.

To provide background, a brief overview of the immigration history and the related problems experienced by these groups singularly and collectively will be presented. The immigration history of Asian Americans to this country shows definitive patterns which contain the different, as well as similar experiences of the four groups. In this report only similarities and differences will be highlighted to provide a context to appreciate the study findings.

Although Korean and Pilipino immigration began later than the Chinese and Japanese, all four groups emigrated principally because of internal problems in their respective countries. These took the form of political unrest or repression, lack of economic and educational opportunities, and density of population. The early immigrants were mainly young, single males from rural areas who were lured to this country by propagandized success stories. Contract agents, steamship companies and farming associations actively recruited cheap labor to work in the mines and fields of California and the plantations of Hawaii. With the exception of the Chinese (the first Asian group to emigrate to the U.S. in substantial numbers), a majority of Asian immigrants used Hawaii as the port of entry to the mainland. Uneducated and poor on arrival, they were easily exploited by an economic system which sought to place them in the most undesirable jobs, at the lowest wages, where they had minimal chance of ever rising above a marginal existence.

The Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Pilipino men initialy viewed their stay as temporary; it was an opportunity to earn money and, occasionally, to complete their education before returning home. This "sojourner" mentality and subsequent discriminatory restrictive immigration laws created a host of problems for these groups. Most serious among them was the difficulty in establishing families because of the disproportionate sex ratio. The Chinese, Japanese and Koreans,and later on, the Pilipinos, were the victims of extensive and racist exclusionary laws. Some of these are presented in Table 1.101. The laws succeeded in preventing economic advancement and social integration of the Asian groups and drove them to more ethnically centered endeavors. The laws also served to mute organized politcial action countering infringement on their civil liberties by the larger society. Since World War II, a gradual progress has been made in legislation on the federal and state levels to grant Asian Americans equal civil rights and privileges as citizens and immigrants. In 1965, for the first time, the Immigration and Naturalization Act Amendments have accorded an equal quota to immigrants from Asian countries.

Early in their immigration history, all four Asian American groups moved into a period of urbanism. This urbanization, along with segregated housing and discriminatory employment practices, gave rise to Chinatowns, Japantowns, and Manila towns. Although this development provided opportunities for small business enterprise for a few, for many it served only to magnify already existing economic and social problems.

Recent figures show that Chinese, Korean and Pilipino immigration has been increasing since the 1965 Immigration Law Amendments, thus enlarging the size of these communities (see Table 1.102). At present, each community shows different population characteristics in terms of immigrants and American born. The Chinese community is comprised of elderly immigrants, a middle-aged second generation of Chinese-Americans and two subgroups of young adults. The first of these young adult groups is the third generation American born Chinese citizens and the second groups is young Chinese immigrants who are often without adequate training for employment. Among the Japanese, there are an older Issei (first generation) immigrant group, a large Nisei (second generation) group whose history includes experiences at the internment camps during their adolescence or early adulthood, and a Sansei group (third generation). At present, there is proportionately a small immigrant group in the Japanese community. The Pilipino and Korean communities are largely immigrant groups at this time, including professionals and unskilled laborers.

TABLE 1.101

Selected Legislation and Executive Orders Which Discriminated and Excluded Asian Groups in the United States

Laws & Executive Orders (Popular Name)	Target Asian Groups	Major Provision
Article 19, (Calif. Constitution) Article 178 (Penal Code) The Acts Amendatory of the Codes of Calif. at 1, (1880).	Chinese	Forbade employment of Chinese in any Corp. formed in the state; working on any public contracts
(Exclusion Act) 22 Stat. 214 (1882).	Chinese	Immigration prohibited except for certain professional levels; law to be renewed every ten years
(Exclusion Act)57 Stat. 176 (1902).	Chinese	Above Act made permanent
(Separate Education) Resolution adopted by the Board of Ed. of San Francisco on Oct. 11, 1906 in accordance with Sec. 1662, Chapt. CXVII, Cal. Stat. 100 (1884-87).	Japanese	Established segregated schools for Japanese in California
(Gentlemen's Agreement) Notes exchanged between the U.S. and Japan on Nov. 30, 1908, declaring their policy in the Far East, 1 Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the USA and other powers 1776-1909, 1045 (1910).	Japanese	Prohibited immigration except for parents, wives and children of current residents
(U.S. District Court in Penn.) 198 F. 688 (1912).	Pilipinos	Declared them ineligible for citizenship
(Calif. Alien Land Law) Cal. Stat. 206 (1913)	Japanese	Prohibited non-citizens from purchasing land, forbade transfer of land already owned;limited leasing to three years.
(Amendment to Alien Land Law) Cal. Stat. lXXXiii	Japanese	Deprived of right to lease agricultural land
(Exclusion Act) Immigration Act of 1924, 43 Stat. 153 (1923-25).	All Asians	Denied admission to United States of all persons ineligible for citizenship, and all Asians were at that time ineligible for citizenship.

TABLE 1.101 (Continues)

Laws & Executive Orders (Popular Name)	Asian Groups	Major Provision
(Filipino Exclusion Act) 48 Stat. 456 (1934) (U.S. Repatriation Law) 49 Stat. 478 (1935).	Pilipinos	Quota of 150 immigrants annually established, U.S. government paid for expenses of Pilipinos to return to Philippines.
(Executive Order 9066 and Federal Statute) 7 Fed. Reg. 1407 (1942); 49 Stat. 478 (1935).	Japanese	Evacuated all Japanese from west coast states, "relocated" them in camps farther inland.

TABLE 1.102

Rank Among Total Immigration and Actual Totals Entering U.S. from Korea, the Philippines, Japan, China and Hong Kong for each year from 1965 through 1974

	Korean Rank	Total	Philippines Rank	Total	Japan Rank	Total	China Rank	Total	Hong Kong Rank	Total
1965	28th	2,165	17th	3,130	16th	3,180	13th	4,057	52nd	712
1966	25th	2,492	13th	6,093	20th	3,394	85h	13,736	16th	3,872
1967	18th	3,956	11th	10,865	19th	3,946	6th	19,741	15th	5,355
1968	21st	3,811	7th	16,731	24th	3,613	10th	12,738	22nd	3,696
1969	17th	6,045	3rd	20,744	22nd	3,957	8th	15,440	19th	5,453
1970	14th	9,314	2nd	31,203	21st	4,485	8th	14,093	25th	3,863
1971	9th	14,297	2nd	28,471	20th	4,457	7th	14,417	23rd	3,205
1972	5th	18,876	2nd	29,376	21st	4,757	6th	17,339	22nd	4,391
1973	4th	22,930	2nd	30,799	17th	5,461	6th	17,297	22nd	4,359
1974	-	28,028	-	32,857	-	4,860	-	18,056	-	4,629

In recent years, the stereotyping which tended to lump all Asian-Americans together has begun to be replaced by a slow recognition of differences and of the uniqueness of each group. The Asian-American image is now viewed more positively. At least overtly this country no longer feels impelled to legislate against the "yellow peril." However, little has been done to seek out and deal with the persisting economic and social needs of present day Asian-Americans.

The problems encountered by Asian immigrants and Asian-Americans in this country fall roughly into two categories: those casually related to the discrimination and racial antagonism shown to these groups by the dominant society and those caused by conflicts of cultural values. Discriminatory practices have led to economic deprivation, alienation of many Asian-Americans, and the lack of needed health and social services. Cultural conflict has resulted in intrapsychic and interpersonal difficulties for Asian immigrants and Asian-American citizens.

The fact that Asian and Asian-American groups are not "model minorities" as they have so often been called (Newsweek, 1971; U.S. News and World Report, 1966) is reported over and over again by contemporary writers. For a review of *Japanese* experiences, see Kitano (1967, 1969, 1973), Fujitomi & Wong (1973), Levine & Montero (1973), and Maykovitch (1972). The *Chinese* problems have been dealt with by Brown & Stein *et.al.* (1973), Lyman (1970, 1971, 1973), Sue & Kitano (1973), Chin (1971), Fong (1973), Chen (1970) and Weiss (1973). Information concerning the *Pilipino* community can be found in Cordova (1973), Callao (1973), Catapusan (1940), Loft (1974), Munoz (1971), Rabaya (1971), Wagner (1973), Sata (1973), and Duff & Arthur (1973). Very little is available for the *Korean* except Shin (1971), and Kim (1972, 1973 &1974). In all of these articles, Asian minority groups' unemployment, underemployment, family difficulties and intrapsychic distress are discussed, even though all Asian groups are very much underrepresented in public social service statistics. One reason for this underrepresentation may be due in part to a cultural bias against using public social service and/or mental health service facilities because of the perceived shame brought about by not handling problems within the family itself (Sue & Sue, 1972a, 1972b; Kaneshigi, 1973; Kimmich, 1960; Kitano, 1969; Cordova, 1973). Thus, the same strong family tradition which has been responsible for low crime and delinquency statistics, especially among the Chinese and Japanese (Kitano, 1967, 1973; Okano & Spilka, 1971; Abbott & Abbott, 1973; Brody, 1968) has also contributed to low usage rates of available social services. (Information about these phenomena among Pilipinos and Koreans is not currently available.) It has been found, however, that the second and third generations have incorporated more of the American cultural norms and are more apt to use public resources (Masuda, Matsumoto & Meridith, 1970).

Although each group experiences difficulties specific to them, some problems are common to all four of the Asian-American community groups surveyed. One of these is the widespread belief that Asian-Americans have somehow overcome prejudice and discrimination. This has given them a low priority in terms of attention and aid from public sectors. By pointing to them as "model minorities", this myth has also kept Asian-Americans from joining with other minorities and has sustained a more restrictive sense of identity (Sue & Sue, 1973). Moreover, even Asians in Asia are the recipients of widely published "success" articles in the American media.

On the other hand, the negative Asian-American stereotypes which evolved over the years beginning during the Chinese immigration in the mid 1800's, included such descriptions as unassimilable nature, cowardice, treacherous and shrewd facade, intellectually inferior, and part of an international menace. Kane (1970), Paid (1971), and Caldwell (1971) document the media sterotypes of Asian-Americans. Friedman and Selden (1971) and Kagan and Kagan (1971) discuss America's chauvinism and the imposition of American categories to describe, evaluate and direct Asian experience. Rowell's (1909) editorial in the Fresno Republican warning of the dangers of unrestricted Oriental immigration was but one example of the type of inflammatory publications which helped to both shape and sustain anti-Asian prejudice, expecially on the West Coast. The decline in negative Asian-American stereotypes since World War II has occurred for a variety of reasons, one of which may be guilt resulting from the internment of Japanese-American citizens during that war. Also, the fact that a number of Asian-Americans have "made it" within the American system despite overwhelming resistance has earned some respect from the larger society (Sue & Kitano, 1973).

Asians are not only stereotyped in the public media, but according to Kane (1970) they are ignored in textbooks in the United States. He reports that in 1960, not one of twenty-four reviewed books contained a balanced portrayal of Chinese or Japanese-Americans. Nine years later a study by him was unable to report any significant changes in textbook presentations of these groups. This ignoring of Asian-Americans in textbooks is but an index of a general ignoring practiced by the American system at large. For example, it has been estimated that up to thirty-four percent of Asian-American senior citizens have never received social welfare benefits or other similar services.

Still another problem arises from the fact that historically these groups have not received justice from the courts in this country. The Chinese particularly have attempted to use the judicial system for redress and although they have, at times, been ultimately successful, it has always been a hard won and lengthy ordeal. These experiences may help account not only for their silence, but also for their reluctance, even in the face of dire need, to turn now to governmental agencies for assistance.

Another commonality among all Asian groups is that the capacity to control expression of problems or troubled feelings is equated with maturity. Because of this reluctance to admit emotional problems, they may not seek mental health services (Watanabe, 1973). This control of self-expression is related to the concepts of shame and pride, which play an important role in the culture of all the groups of Asian-Americans and are often a major motivating force prompting the individual to act or not to act. In fact, the Asian-American client may perceive services such as (therapeutic) counseling itself as a shameful process (Callao, 1973; Sue & Sue, 1972a; Keneshigi, 1973). The concept of Haji (shame) is particularly Japanese in origin. A similar sentiment is expressed as Hiya among the Pilipinos. The Chinese refer to a similar concept as Mentz (face-saving), and the Koreans, Chaemyun. In all groups, if a personal issue is brought outside of the family and not handled within its confines, the family is seen as losing face. Although interpretations differ qualitatively among the groups, they all result in making individuals reluctant to seek professional help, particularly mental health services.

Although the Chinese community contain second, third, and fourth generation citizens, a nearly half are still persons of immigrant status. They are either the remaining victims of discriminatory legislation or are part of the new wave of Asian immigration to the U.S. Therefore, many of the existing social problems are not found among citizens, who seem to have stabilized their life style within the larger American society, but among immigrants who are more likely to be faced with language barriers and cultural conflicts. For the new immigrant, the process itself signifies disruption of familiar life styles. It can cause an upheaval and disequilibrium of crisis proportions and can place the immigrant in a most vulnerable state requiring a variety of social interventions. Institutional and individual racism makes adjustment in the new society even more difficult. Some immigrants experience difficulty in transferring foreign training and work experiences to equivalent jobs in the United States. Many doctors, nurses, engineers, chemists, accountants, teachers, professors and middle level management executives work long hours here in jobs which have no relationship to their previous training. Immigrant school age children (accompanying their praents) need bilingual and bicultural education, including specially concentrated instruction in English.

II DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The method and procedure for this study will be described in chronological order in sections: sample selection; questionnaire construction; community contact; questionnaire pretest; interviewer selection, training, and supervision; interview procedure; interview verification; summary description of completed interviews; data reduction procedures; and data analysis description. Much of the data collection was contracted out to the Survey Research Laboratory of the University of Illinois (hereafter referred to as the SRL) under the supervision of the principal investigator.

Sample Selection

The population for this study consisted of four groups of Asian-American community members (Korean, Pilipino, Japanese and Chinese) located in the Chicago metropolitan area. The study objective was to complete 800 interviews from a random sample of this population. Initially the design called for a snowball sample of individuals whose names were to be obtained from membership lists of ethnic organizations and major church groups. The first hundred or so respondents would be asked to furnish names of persons who were newcomers to the United States and to the neighborhood (six months or less in residence) until 800 interviews were obtained.

However, since a major aim of the research was to determine the needs of newcomers and those not using existing social services, the above design proved to be biased; that is, the people who belonged to ethnic organizations or church groups did not constitute a representative sample. Therefore, to obtain a representative sample and to enable population projections to be made, an alternative sample design was needed. The cooperation of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service was sought and eventually obtained and the revised sample design consisted of two major groupings: immigrants, and American-born or naturalized American citizens. The Korean and Pilipino samples were selected entirely from immigration files for the following reasons. In Chicago, these groups consist largely of recent immigrants, with a very small subject pool from which to derive a sample of U.S. citizens. Also, locating a sample of naturalized citizens would be difficult in the Pilipino group as there is no ethnic resident directory and their Spanish surnames preclude using conventional means of identification such as city telephone directories. Two-thirds of the Japanese and Chinese samples were from the immigration files and the remainder were from lists based on a geographic delineation. This sampling allowed for enough immigrant subjects to compare with the other two immigrant communities and also for tapping the second and third generations among these two groups. A completed sample of 200 Koreans and Pilipinos and 150 Japanese and Chinese was sought.

The subject pool for the immigrant samples consisted of all names reported on 1973 alien address report cards in the Illinois files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service for the four groups. According to the Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates in 1973, there were 4,806 registered Koreans, 15,165 Pilipinos, 3,929 Japanese and 5,796 Chinese in Chicago. In terms of sample inclusion an eligible respondent was one who: 1) was 18 years of age or older; 2) was classified as a permanent resident; and 3) gave a Chicago address. Respondents were selected using a systematic random sample. Table 2.101 gives the sampling rates and the probabilities of selection for the four immigrant groups.

TABLE 2.101

Sampling Rates for the Four Immigrant Groups

	Total Available	Selection Interval	Probability of Selection
Korean	4,806	5.0	.2000
Pilipino	15,165	16.8	.0595
Japanese	3.929	4.0	,2500
Chinese	5,796	13.8	.0769

The subject pool for the U.S. citizen sample was determined by using census information and community informants. Two highly concentrated areas of Japanese and Chinese people were delineated. Using the Chicago Japanese American Directory (Shimpo, Inc.), all people with Japanese surnames living in the area bounded by Howard Street (7600 N.) on the North, Belmont (3200 N.) on the South, Ashland Ave., (1600 W.) on the West and Broadway (600 W.) on the East were listed, a total of 839. For the Chinese group, the telephone Street Address Directory was used for sampling purposes. All people with Chinese surnames living in the area bounded by 19th Street (1900 S.) on the North, 26th Street (2600 S.) on the South, Canal Street (500 W.) on the West and La Salle Street (150 W.) on the East, were listed, a total of 573.

For purposes of interviewing, a person listed was eligible only if that person was an American citizen. If this individual was not a U.S. citizen but another person(s) in that household was a citizen and of the same heritage, the other person(s) was eligible. The order of eligibility and priority was as follows: 1) person listed; 2) spouse; 3) child 18 years of age or older; or

4) other related person 18 years of age or older who is a permanent member of the household. In this latter instance, a permanent member is defined as a relative who had been or planned to be a resident in the household for six months or more. Table 2.202 gives the sampling rates and probabilities of selection for the American-born or naturalized groups.

TABLE 2.202

Sampling Rates for the American-Born or Naturalized U.S. Citizen Groups

	Total Available	Selection Interval	Probability of Selection
Japanese	839	8.5	.117
Chinese	573	3.9	.256

Because of cost factors, immigrants who moved out of the designated areas were considered ineligible and dropped from the sample. In the immigrant sample two exceptions were made (one Korean and one Japanese). In one instance the respondent was so eager she came to the interviewer's home, and in the other, the respondent lived two blocks from the interviewer in the same suburb.

The personal interview method was chosen because it was felt that this method used by bilingual and bicultural interviewers would yield the highest and most reliable response rate.

The questionnaire used was developed by the principal investitagor with technical assistance from the SRL. It was designed to obtain information about the respondents and, if applicable, about their spouses and children. The information was divided into seven distinct areas: 1) demographic data; 2) perception of the problems and the service needs of the ethnic community in Chicago; 3) perception of discrimination in employment and housing; 4) problem solving activities and preferences in conditions for receiving help; 5) actual experiences of problems with health, finance, employment, family; 6) reasons for immigration and evaluation of this decision; and 7) sense of ethnic identity. In order to encourage truthful responses and minimize resistance, questions belonging to different categories were mixed and ordered in a sequence from the general and less personal to the specific and personal.

There are 77 questions, 37 of these having multiple parts, six questions are open-ended. The questionnaire was translated into Korean, Japanese and Chinese; however, due to the diversity of dialects among the Pilipinos in Chicago and the widespread use of English, no attempt was made to translate the questionnaire for the Pilipino group.

Community Contact

In order to facilitate response by community members, to encourage support by community groups and to enlist possible interviewers for the survey, the principal investigator made extensive personal contacts with educators, heads of ethnic organizations, ministers or priests of ethnic religious institutions, and "community workers and leaders." Articles were placed in major national and Chicago-based ethnic newspapers explaining the existence, purpose and importance of the study. These articles were also published in the newsletters of several ethnic organizations.

Questionnaire Pretest

A pretest was conducted by four interviewers to pinpoint any problems in the wording or structuring of the questionnaire, and to test ethnic group relevance of the questions. This pretest also yielded an estimate of the average time required to administer the questionnaire. It provided information for making decisions about the ordering of the question items and the creation of a uniform language for those words and phrases in the questionnaire that did not directly or easily translate into Korean, Japanese or Chinese.

The sample for the pretest consisted of six interviews from each of the four groups: Korean, Pilipino, Japanese and Chinese. The pretest sample was selected on a probability basis from the same sources as the study sample. The Korean and Pilipino pretest respondents were selected entirely from the immigration records. For the Japanese and Chinese groups one-half of the respondents were selected from the immigration records and the other half from the citizen lists prepared for the study sample.

If the individual chosen was no longer residing at the address listed, attempts were made to obtain the correct address. If the new address was not in the city of Chicago, the person was dropped from the sample and another name selected.

To aid in determining the best method for contacting members of the sample for the main study, one of two procedures was utilized for pretest respondents: 1) sampled persons were contacted by telephone to arrange an appointment prior to interviewing or, 2) sampled persons were contacted in person without prior telephone contact. For one-half of the sample the first procedure was used and the other half the second procedure. The interviewer was instructed not to substitute procedures from one case to the next.

Data collected from the pretest showed that the telephone could be used for all groups to arrange appointments prior to interviewing. Only with the Chinese group was there some reservation in using the telephone prior to interviewing. However, this reservation was based more on comments made by the interviewer in the debriefing session than from data which was obtained from the pretest.

Four interviewers attended a six-hour training session during which general interviewing procedures and specific techniques were explained.

The interviewers were then requested to complete two interviews: one with an ethnic friend or neighbor to acquaint the interviewers with skip patterns and to familiarize them with the questionnaire, and then one from their first assignment. These two interviews were then evaluated to see if the interviewers could proceed with the rest of their assignments.

After the collection of pretest data, a debriefing session was held and the interviewers evaluated the questionnaire and related the problems they had encountered in the field. Constructive suggestions by the interviewers were incorporated into the interview procedures but the questionnaire remained essentially as it had been in its original form.

Of the 23 interviews completed for this pretest, fifteen used prior contact by telephone and eight no prior contact. A breakdown of the pretest results by group is presented in Table 2.203. (See next page).

The Average legngth of the interview was 59 minutes with the following breakdowns: 96 minutes (Korean), 44 minutes (Pilipino), 57 minutes (Japanese), and 48 minutes (Chinese). It appeared that the variation in the total length of the interview was due to whether the interview was conducted in English or the respondent's language.

Interviewer Selection, Training and Supervision

Two other types of solicitation were used in addition to the personal contacts and direct requests to each ethnic community by the principal investigator. Articles were placed in neighborhood ethnic language news bulletins. Classified advertisements were placed in both community and university based newspapers: Hang Kook Ilbo (Korean), The Chicago Shimpo, Inc. (Japanese) and The Maroon (University of Chicago).

TABLE 2.203

Asian American Community Pre-Test Completion Data

	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Pilipino	Total
Eligibles	11	20	14	13	58
Interviews	6	4	5	8	23
Refusals	3	6	5	1	15
Non-Contacts	2	10	4	4	20
Ineligibles	3	2	0	1	6
Moved from City	2	0	0	1	3
Deceased	1	2	0	0	3
TOTAL	14	22	14	14	64
Response Rate	54.5%	20.0%	35.7%	61.5%	39.6%
Refusal Rate	27.31	30.0	35.7	7.7	25.9
Contact Rate	18.2	50.0	28.6	30.7	34.5
Eligibility	78.6	90.9	100.0	92.9	90.6

In addition to meeting the bilingual, bicultural requirement, persons had to be willing to devote evenings and weekends for up to twenty hours per week, or four interviews per week for an eight week period, and to attend two training sessions. Other important factors considered in selecting the interviewers were : 1) satisfactory fluency in the native language and in English; 2) ability to participate in the study without any strong biases (particularly negative attitudes toward the study); and, 3) an ability to put a respondent at ease while obtaining critical information on a variety of personal subjects.

Thirty-six interviewers were selected by the principal investigator and they were divided into two groups for training purposes. Each group attended general training sessions and a specific training session. These training sessions were each six hours long and the format was similar to the pre-test training sessions.

Of the thirty-six interviewers trained and selected, only two dropped out at the beginning of the study. The highest number of dropouts occurred later (four) from the Japanese group. There were five interviewers who had limited language capability in Japanese and Cantonese and they were used to interview American-born or naturalized citizens.

From each ethnic group, one individual was designated as supervisor. The supervisors were to maintain regular contact with their interviewers; assign (or reassign) cases; collect, edit, keep records of case dispositions; and discuss field progress and/or problems with the field coordinator from the SRL. Finally, the supervisors were responsible for checking each completed questionnaire for detail and thoroughness, and for verifying the interview by telephoning respondents on a random basis.

Interview Procedure

An effort was made by the SRL to verify the addresses of sample respondents using reverse telephone directories. As the method of personal interviewing had been chosen it was essential that interviewer time was spent on interviewing and not on locating respondents. The letter informing the respondents about the study and seeking their cooperation was sent out one week prior to the interviewer's approach. The Post Office was asked to give address corrections for respondents if necessary, and to return letters for those addresses not located. Data on address corrections and letters returned are presented in Table 2.204.

TABLE 2.204

Letters Returned from Post Office for the Four Asian Groups

	Korean	Pilipino	Japanese	Chinese
Address Correction	21	20	5	6
Not Forwardable	40	41	34	29

Once the respondent was located, the following procedure was standard. The interviewer introduced himself/herself to the prospective subject by saying, "Hello, I'm ____________ from the University of Illinois. I'd like to ask you a few questions on your opinion of the adjustment of (R's ethnic group) people to the United States." The interviewers were issued the identification cards from the SRL, University of Illinois. The interviewer would then ask permission to conduct the interview either immediately, or by setting up an appointment at a later date. For Chinese interviewers, Mandarin, Cantonese and Toisan speakers were differentially deployed according to geographical location of respondents; i.e., in Chinatown both Toisan and Cantonese speaking interviewers were deployed, while in the north side of Chicago,Mandarin speaking interviewers were sent because that area contained large numbers of Mandarin speaking immigrants from Taiwan.

Interview Verification

Two hundred interviews were verified by telephone by the supervisors of each ethnic group and by the SRL in Chicago. The quality of all interviewers' work for this study was found to be good and all cases were verified. In two instances the wrong person was interviewed. In one case the right respondent was located and interviewed, and in the other, the case was terminated as a non-contact. Thirty cases could not be verified because the respondent did not have a telephone or could not be contacted.

Summary Description

The final sample of 1,392 eligible cases resulted in a total of 726 interviews actually conducted and completed. The total number of interviews conducted in each group were: 1) 228 (Korean); 199 (Pilipino); 150 (Japanese); and 149 (Chinese).

Although data collection was originally scheduled for completion within eight weeks, the following factors made it necessary to extend the data collection period. The major delay was in the Japanese group of interviewers. Five of the nine interviewers were not very productive. Two of these were students and could not devote much time to interviewing due to educational commitments. The other three were not as interested in the study as they had originally stated. Their disinterest resulted from taking interview refusals personally, rather than as an expected occurrence. As a result the completion rates for Japanese interviews were slow. The unworked cases from these interviewers were eventually distributed among the remaining Japanese interviewers. A second difficulty was that as compared to the Korean, Japanese and Chinese samples, the Pilipino sample was scattered throughout the city of Chicago. Of the Pilipino sample 26.9 precent were not located. Since five interviewers did not have cars and had to depend upon public transportation, they were limited in the number of contact attempts they could make on any interviewing night. A third factor that caused delay was the option given to interviewers to prearrange contacts by phone. Interviews were quickly arranged for respondents who had phone numbers while those without were left for last. Some interviewers were reluctant to work on cases that did not have phone numbers because of the probability (and inconvenience) of having to make more than one trip to complete the interview. These cases often had to be reassigned to other interviewers. In addition to all of the above, some problems were encountered in locating households with American citizens in the American-born or naturalized Chinese group. Thirdy-one per cent of the households sampled in this group proved ineligible due to non-citizenship.

The individuals who continued conducting interviews until they had completed their ethnic quota felt their role as interviewers was very rewarding. They viewed this study as a learning experience, meeting new people and becoming more aware of how other people view their situation in the city. The study was enriching to interviewers as they gained a broader perspective on ethnic problems in the city and on individual responses to various social issues.

Table 2.205 gives a detailed breakdown of the disposition of the total sample. In summary, a breakdown of the 1392 cases involved 726 completed interviews, and 98 who refused to be interviewed. There were 86 non-contracts, 299 that could not be located, and 60 other eligible cases that were not interviewed. One hundred twenty-eight persons had moved out of the city or area, 52 were ineligible because they were not citizens and nine were ineligible for other reasons. It is interesting to note that citizen groups of both Japanese and Chinese showed consistently higher rates of refusal to be interviewed than did any of the immigrant groups. An overall response rate of 61% was obtained. When this figure is analyzed by group, the Koreans had the highest response rate, 70%, followed by the Japanese with 59% the Chinese with 56.5%, and the Pilipinos with 56%.

The disposition of cases was also analyzed according to interviewer. When this was done, it was found that only two interviewers had any large number of refusals. These large instances of refusals occurred among immigrant members of Japanese (nine refusals for one Japanese interviewer) and Chinese (eight refusals for one Chinese interviewer) communities.

Data Reduction and Data Processing

Shortly after the field work of the survey was completed, the process of converting the questionnaire to an IBM data file began. This process was initially

TABLE 2.205

Data Collection Completion Data

	Korean	Pilipino	Japanese		Chinese		Total
			C	I	C	I	
Eligibles	324	361	85	169	86	178	1,203
Interviews	228	199	50	100	49	100	
Refusals	12	19	16	14	16	21	98
Non-Contact	10	31	4	18	8	15	
Can't Locate	54	97	9	22	11	36	229
Other	20	11	6	15	2	6	60
Ineligibles	36	32	14	26	61	20	189
Out of Area	36	32	7	21	14	18	128
Not an American Citizen	N/A	N/A	6	N/A	46	N/A	52
Deceased	0	0	1	5	1	2	9
TOTAL	360	393	99	195	147	198	1,392
Response Rate	70%	56%	59%	59%	57%	56%	61%
Refusal Rate	5%	9%	24%	12%	25%	17%	12%
Contact Rate	80%	65%	85%	76%	90%	71%	74%
Eligibility Rate	90%	92%	86%	87%	59%	90%	86%

begun by designing the questionnaire in such a way that most questions were largely precoded; numbers corresponding to units of information had been assigned to the response categories in a manner compatible with the IBM card format. However, a large amount of revision was required due to the need for coding the specifics in those questions which had an "other" category, and for the coding of the six open-ended questions. The process of data reduction involved five discrete steps.

The first was quality control. Each completed questionnaire was inspected by supervisors to make certain that it was completely filled out, that the response categories were unambiguously indicated and that written information was legible and coherent. Problems ere referred to interviewers for clarification and feedback. The next step involved editing. Response patterns were checked by an editor at SRL whose task it was to look for inconsistent or impossible entries and evidence of unclear or ambiguous patterns of response. Errors not correctable on the basis of information within the questionnaire were referred back to interviewer supervisors who either resolved the discrepancies by consultation with the original interviewer or by contacting the respondent. The third procedure was coding. As was mentioned above, although the original questionnaire had been precoded, much of this work had to be redone in order to allow for responses in the 37 "other" categories, and for responses to the six open-ended questions. All data was then transferred from the questionnaire to IBM Fortran format by two graduate students at Jane Addams School of Social Work at the University of Illinois. These students had been trained in the use of the coding manual by the principal investigator. Check coding was the fourth step. Concurrently with the coding operation, the principal investigator did a re-coding of approximately 15% of each coder's work to insure accuracy. Finally, key punching of the data was done by the University of Georgia and included both punching and verification.

Data Analysis

The Statistical Package for the Social Science Program was used for data analysis purposes. A graduate student under the supervision of Dr. Kee Whan Choi, Mathematics Department of the University of Georgia assisted in the transformation of data so that the SPSS could be used for statistical analysis.

Concerning the reliability and validity of the data obtained, there are two sources of error, sampling error and non-sampling error. The latter includes many types of mechanical, typographical, conceptual errors. The best assessment of the magnitude of such error can be made by scrutinizing the procedures used to create the instrument, gather, code and analyze the data. The procedures, as listed above, employed by the principal investigator, the Survey Reserach Laboratory and the University of Georgia computer center, were specifically aimed at minimizing this type of error as a source of unreliability and/or invalidity. The sampling procedures employed in this study preclude the calculation of exact sampling error on the assumption of a simple, random, sample. However, it was not felt to be great enough to diminish the usefulness of the obtained results.

III RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A total of 726 persons were interviewed for the study. There were 228 Korean immigrant respondents, 199 Pilipino immigrant respondents, 100 Japanese immigrant and 50 Japanese citizen respondents, and 100 Chinese immigrant and 49 Chinese citizen respondents.

The results of the study will be presented in five major sections. These five senctions are: 1) demographic characteristics of the sample, 2) education, employment and income data, 3) experiences specific to the immigration, 4) problems and problem solving activities, and 5) service priorities and service characteristics considered important by the respondents. In the first two sections regional and national data on Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Pilipino groups will be presented wherever appropriate. This serves to place our study in perspective and in no way implies generalization of our data with that from the national groups. In some instances where pronounced differences existed, sample data is presented by sex as well as by ethnic group. Also the Chinese and Japanese citizen groups are presented separately from their respective immigrant groups when such separation highlights differences. The citizen groups include foreign born persons who have become naturalized citizens, and therefore do not necessarily indicate American born Asians. As a matter of fact, 39 out of 49 of the Chinese citizen sample are foreign born while eight out of 50 of the Japanese citizen sample are foreign born. This high proporation of naturalized citizens among the citizen sample preclude any meaningful comparison of citizen and immigrant groups.

In all five sections the similarities and differences among six sample groups will be discussed. Such discussion will illuminate the workings of Asian ethnic communities which manifest their unique patterns of needs and responses. The order of presentation of the groups in the tables reflects the arbitrary numbering system used during the data collection phase.

In order to place our sample in perspective, selected data from the 1970 census will be presented briefly. Nationally, slightly under two million Asian Americans now reside in the United States (excluding the trust territories) either as citizens or as immigrants. Of these, over 515,000 (29.6%) are of Chinese extraction, over 610,000 (35%) are of Japanese extraction, over 150,000 (8.6%) are of Korean extraction and over 460,000 (26%) are of Pilipino extraction. The percentage increase of each group due to immigration since 1970 are as follows: Chinese, 19%;

Japanese, 3%; Koreans, 119%; and Pilipinos 36% (see Table 3.101).[1]

The four groups representing 1,736,098, are distributed throughout the United States, although most of the groups are concentrated in the urban areas of five states: Hawaii, California, New York, Washington, and Illinois. Immigration data for the last decade however, indicates that new Asian immigrants are more diffuse in their settlement area and are more highly urban than earlier immigrants. The national figure for urban residence is 75% but each Asian groups greatly exceeds this percentage.[2]

According to the 1970 census, 35% of the Asian Americans residing in the midwest were Chinese, while 39% were Japanese and 25% were Pilipinos. Although there was no separate enumeration of the Koreans for the midwest region, the Koreans are the fifth largest Asian group nationally.[3] The important fact to note here is that the four groups in this study do represent the major groups of Asian immigrants and Asian Americans in the midwest even though the numbers of immigrants and refugees from Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam have been increasing in the past two years.

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[1] In evaluating this national data and other comparative information which will be used at various points in this report, it is important to keep in mind that ethnic minority groups in general have always been undercounted in the census for a variety of reasons. Added to this overall pattern, the language difficulty of Asian American persons increase the possible disparity between reported figures and actual conditions. Another reasons for undercounting the Asian population is that the Immigration and Naturalization Service data do not take into consideration those Asians who reside in the United States as non-immigrants but who are eligible to change their visa status to that of immigrants.

[2] Chinese, 97%; Japanese, 89%; and Pilipinos, 86%.

[3] Due to the limited reporting of the Korean population characteristics in the 1970 census, comparisons of Koreans in our study with the national data is not often possible. For this reason, comparisons of the Korean sample with the 1970 census data are often ommitted. The fourth largest Asian population in the United States is the Hawaiian group.

Population Increase of Asians in the U.S. Since 1970 Census

		KOREAN	PILIPINO	JAPANESE	CHINESE	TOTAL
Total in 1970 Census	M	28,491	183,175	271,453	226,733	709,852
	F	42,107	153,556	316,871	204,850	717,384
	total	70,598	336,731	588,324	431,583	1,427,236
Total Mainland		61,062	241,000	371,100	379,000	
Total Outside California		UNK	105,300	157,900	208,600 (70,200 in New York City)	
% Immigrants 1965-1973 Intending to Reside in		Ill 7%	8%	4%	4%	
North Central		NC 22%	15%	14%	12%	
% of Group Residing in North Central Region		19%	8%	7%	9%	
% of Group in Urban Residence*		UNK	86%	89%	97%	

Place of Birth-Immigration Since 1970 Census

		KOREA	PHILIPPINES	JAPAN	CHINA, TAIWAN & HONG KONG	TOTAL
FY 1971	M	5,119	11,039	1,162	8,287	25,607
	F	9,178	17,432	3,295	9,335	39,240
	Total	14,297	28,471	4,457	17,622	64,847
FY 1972	M	7,218	11,726	1,354	10,437	30,735
	F	11,658	11,650	3,403	11,293	44,004
	Total	18,876	29,376	4,757	21,730	74,739
FY 1973	M	8,856	12,446	1,568	9,937	32,807
	F	14,074	18,353	3,893	11,719	48,039
	Total	22,930	30,799	5,461	21,656	80,846
FY 1974	M	11,163	13,042	1,480	10,724	36,409
	F	16,865	19,815	3,380	11,961	52,021
	Total	28,028	32,857	4,860	22,685	88,430
Total	M	32,356	48,253	5,564	39,385	125,558
	F	51,725	73,250	13,971	44,308	183,304
	Total	84,131	121,503	19,535	83,693	308,862
Percent Increase **	M	113.57%	26.34%	2.05%	17.37%	17.69%
	F	122.84	47.70	4.41	21.62	25.55
	Total	119.16	36.08	3.32	19.39	21.64

* National United States average = 75% Urban Residence

** Percent Increase can only be taken as a low estimate since INS data do not take into consideration Asian aliens residing in the U.S. whose visa status is that of Non-Immigrant, but open to change.

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the Unite States, PC (2) -1G. Based on a 20% sample. Includes Social Characteristics for Koreans also, but not a breakdown by sex of the total Korean population.

U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Vol., Characteristics of the Population, Part 1. U.S. Summary, Sect. 2. 1970 Census of Population, based on 15% sample. Used for Korean population only.

U.S. Deapt. of Justice, Immig. & Naturalization Service, Annual Reports, for 1971,1972,1973, 1974, Table 14/

Section I: Demographic Characteristics

Age

The respondents range in age from 18 to 90, with a median age of 40 years. As can be seen from Table 3.102, there are age differences among the six subgroups. The oldest group is the Japanese as seen by their median age of 47 years, and they are followed by the Chinese (39 years), the Koreans (34 years) and finally, the Pilipinos (32 years). Although the majority of the respondents are between the ages of 30 and 65, 10% to 25% of the Chinese and Japanese respondents fall in the over 65 age category. The Korean and Pilipino groups are primarily in the 26 to 40 year old range and the Japanese group mostly in the 41 to 65 year range. Both the Chinese citizen and Chinese immigrant groups are more widely dispersed in age and their age distribution do not show the same unimodal feature that the other groups do. Among the young adult groups, women outnumber men in all six subgroups.

According to the 1970 census figures for the state of Illinois, 28% of the Japanese population, 32% of the Chinese, and 26% of the Pilipino were under the age of 18. The percentages of persons over age of 65 at the time of the census were 7.4% for the Japanese, 5% for the Chinese, and 4% for the Pilipinos. No one under the age of 18 was interviewed in this study, but this does not adversely affect validity since this study is limited to adult activities and concerns.

Sex Distribution

The Korean, Pilipino and Chinese groups all show an approximately equal distribution between male and female respondents. The two Japanese groups differ in that almost two thirds of the Japanese immigrants are femalewhile only one third of the Japanese citizens are female. These results are in agreement with historical and trends in national data on Asian population in the United States. Until 1960, males outnumbered females in all Asian groups for every census count. In 1960, for the first time, Japanese women outnumbered Japanese men. This was primarily due to the immigration of Japanese women who had married American servicemen during the U.S. occupation of Japan after World War II. In 1970, males still outnumbered females nationally in both the Chinese (53% to 47%) and Pilipino (55% to 45%) groups. But the 1970 census shows a 46% to 54% ratio of males to females for the Japanese and a 40% to 60% ratio of males to females for the Koreans. A trend toward higher female immigration is evident in all four groups included in this study.

TABLE 3.102

Age of Respondents & Spouses by Sex

Age		Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
18 - 30	M	11	10.8	22	23.2	7	19.4	2	6.3	10	20.8	8	32.0	60	17.8
	F	47	37.9	47	46.1	10	16.1	4	22.2	19	37.3	10	41.7	137	36.0
31 - 40	M	74	72.6	51	53.7	10	27.8	3	9.4	15	31.3	4	16.0	157	46.5
	F	52	41.9	38	37.3	14	22.6	-	-	7	13.7	8	33.3	119	31.2
41 - 50	M	13	12.8	16	16.8	5	13.9	8	25.0	10	20.8	5	20.0	57	16.9
	F	10	8.1	9	8.8	18	29.0	5	27.8	5	9.8	3	12.5	50	13.1
51 - 65	M	4	3.9	5	5.3	3	8.3	14	43.8	9	18.8	5	20.0	40	11.8
	F	13	10.5	8	7.8	6	9.7	7	38.9	9	17.6	1	4.2	44	11.6
65 & Over	M	-	-	1	1.1	11	30.6	5	15.6	4	8.3	3	12.0	24	7.1
	F	2	1.6	-	-	14	22.6	2	11.1	11	21.6	2	8.3	31	8.1
Total	M	102	100	95	100	36	100	32	100	48	100	25	100	338	100
	F	124	100	102	100	62	100	18	100	51	100	24	100	381	100
Mean		36.35		35.1		45.88		50.06		42.43		39.32			
S.D.		13.5		8.87		15.84		12.62		16.04		15.8			

Marital Status

The majority of the respondents for this survey are married and living with their spouses (see Table 3.103). This is true of over two thirds of the respondents for all groups, and it is notable that 88% of the Korean group are married and living with their spouses. According to the 1970 census, 86% of the Japanese, 90% of the Chinese, and 86% of the Pilipinos were married. The rates for separation and divorce within out sample is consistent with national figures for all groups which indicates that there are more unmarried single adults in this sample.

Household Size

The group with the widest variation in household size is the Pilipino group, ranging from one to seventeen persons (see Table 3.104). Even in this group, 87% of the respondents reports six or fewer persons in their households. The Pilipino group also has the largest number of unrelated persons living in the household. Among the three other groups, the number of unrelated persons in the households is small and even non-existent in the Chinese group. The 1970 census data shows that 38% of the Pilipino families contain five or more persons and are more likely than the other groups to have extended and non-linear family members in the household. In the present sample, the Japanese have the smallest family size, with 98% having six or fewer persons and the highest number being eight. This is also true on the national level, where the Japanese have the smallest family size of the three largest Asian American populations. The Chinese families tend to be larger than any other groups except the Pilipinos. The Korean families resemble the Japanese and the Pilipino immigrant groups in having significant representation at the level of three to four people and dropping off sharply in the over six category.

Young Children in the Household

Respondents were specifically asked to give the number and the ages of children living at home. These data are presented in Table 3.105. As can be seen from this table, almost 70% of both Korean and Pilipino families have children under the age of ten, with the majority of these being under the age of five. As a matter of fact, 24% of the Koreans immigrating since 1970 are nine years of age and under. The information concerning the number of young children is very important when both spouses are working and require child care services. Therefore, it should be kept in mind when reading the section on employment, the section on problems experienced by respondents, and the section on service priorities.

TABLE 3.103

Marital Status of Respondents

Marital Status	Korean Immigrants N	Korean Immigrants %	Pilipino Immigrants N	Pilipino Immigrants %	Japanese Immigrants N	Japanese Immigrants %	Japanese Citizens N	Japanese Citizens %	Chinese Immigrants N	Chinese Immigrants %	Chinese Citizens N	Chinese Citizens %	Totals N	Totals %
Married, Spouse Present	201	88.2	151	75.9	67	67.0	38	76.0	70	70.0	37	75.5	564	77.7
Married, Spouse Not Present	5	2.2	2	1.0	1	1.0	1	2.0	1	1.0	1	2.0	11	1.5
Separated	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.1
Divorced	2	0.9	2	1.0	3	3.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1.0
Widowed	6	2.6	3	1.5	18	18.0	4	8.0	14	14.0	2	4.1	47	6.5
Never Married	14	6.1	41	20.6	10	10.0	7	14.0	15	15.0	9	18.4	96	13.2
Total	228	100.0	199	100.0	100	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0	49	100.0	726	100.0

TABLE 3.104

Household Size

Household Size	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	10	4.4	12	6.0	13	13.0	5	10.0	10	10.0	2	4.1	52	7.2
2	32	14.0	17	8.5	33	33.0	13	26.0	12	12.0	4	8.2	111	15.3
3 - 4	121	53.0	98	49.3	40	40.0	17	34.0	29	29.0	12	24.5	317	43.7
5 - 6	54	23.7	47	23.6	13	13.0	14	28.0	29	29.0	22	44.9	179	24.7
7 -10	11	4.8	20	10.0	1	1.0	1	2.0	18	18.0	7	14.3	58	8.0
11 & Over	-	-	5	2.5	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	2	4.1	9	1.2
Total	228	100.0	199	100.0	100	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0	49	100.0	726	100 0

TABLE 3.105

Number of Children Living at Home by Age

Ages	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 5	128	42.8	82	35.7	19	22.3	8	14.0	20	17.5	8	10.7	265	30.8
5 - 9	78	26.1	76	33.0	17	20.0	5	8.8	23	20.2	20	26.7	219	25.5
10 - 14	33	11.0	34	14.8	13	15.3	10	17.5	15	13.2	17	22.7	122	14.2
15 - 19	28	9.4	17	7.4	10	11.8	22	38.6	19	16.7	12	16.0	108	12.6
20 - 24	13	4.3	14	6.1	10	11.8	9	15.8	17	14.9	11	14.7	74	8.6
25 - 34	16	5.4	5	2.2	2	2.3	2	3.5	7	6.1	4	5.3	36	4.2
35 & Over	3	1.0	2	0.9	14	16.5	1	1.8	12	11.4	3	4.0	36	4.2
Totals	299	100.0	320	100.0	85	100.0	57	100.0	114	100.0	75	100.0	860	100.0

Housing Accomodations

Respondents were asked to specify their housing arrangements, i.e., whether they owned or rented, and whether the domicile was a house or an apartment. Table 3.106 summarizes these responses for all six sub-groups. Rental of apartment is the most common housing arrangement. Apartment rental accounts for the majority of all but the Japanese citizen group where the figure is slightly under 50%. The only groups to have significant percentage of home or apartment ownership are the Japanese and Chinese citizen groups.

Religion

The religious preference of the respondents is shown for all six sub-groups in Table 3.107. A majority of Koreans are Protestant and an overwhelming majority of Pilipinos are Catholic. Buddhism is predominant in both groups of Japanese. The Christians in the Chinese citizen group are equally divided between the Protestant and Catholic faiths. It is noteworthy that 62% of the Chinese immigrants and 29% of the Chinese citizens indicate no religious preference. When religious preference is pursued further in a question concerning attendance at religious services (see Table 3.107), a much higher percentage of the Korean and Pilipino groups attend services frequently, i.e., on a weekly basis. Among the Japanese there is a uniform spread of attendance patterns, while among the Chinese the most frequent categories are "never" for Chinese immigrants and "less than once a month" for Chinese citizens. It must be remembered that these figures are adjusted to include only those persons who indicated a religious preference.

Organizational Membership

A trend toward non-belonging to organized groups is shown by the Chinese respondents when all organizational memberships are tallied and comparisons are made among the groups (see Table 3.108). Two thirds of the Chinese immigrants and almost two thirds of the Chinese citizens belong to no organization. Most respondents have two or fewer organizational memberships, but the Korean and Japanese immigrants belong on the average to only one organization. The Pilipino group seems to parallel the Chinese in the predominance of persons having no organizational memberships. This finding is related to other findings concerning the Pilipino community and indicates that, although there is socialization and group oriented behavior among the Pilipinos, such activities seem to be on a non-structured, non-labeled basis and therefore are not likely to show up in a question concerning organizational membership. It has been observed that Pilipinos attend meetings which hold interest for them rather than those connected with

TABLE 3.106

Housing Accomodations

	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Own House	18	7.9	36	18.2	19	19.0	15	30.0	20	20.0	15	30.6	123	17.0
Rent House	19	8.4	12	6.1	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	2	4.1	35	4.8
Own Apartment	5	2.2	8	4.0	13	13.0	8	16.0	7	7.0	3	6.1	44	6.1
Rent Apartment	182	80.2	133	67.2	63	63.0	24	48.0	59	59.0	28	57.1	489	67.5
Other	3	1.2	9	4.5	3	3.0	3	6.0	14	14.0	1	2.0	33	4.6
Total	227	99.9	198	100.0	100	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0	49	100.0	724	100.0

TABLE 3.107

Religous Preference and Religious Service Attendance

	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Religious Pref.														
Protestant	150	65.8	10	5.0	24	24.0	17	34.0	20	20.0	15	37.7	257	32.6
Catholic	35	15.4	184	92.5	4	4.0	2	4.0	12	12.0	17	34.7	254	35.0
Buddhist	11	4.8	1	0.5	48	48.0	24	48.0	5	5.0	2	4.1	91	12.5
No Preference	30	13.2	-	-	20	20.0	6	12.0	62	62.0	14	28.6	132	18.2
Other	2	0.9	4	2.0	4	4.0	1	2.0	1	1.0	-	-	12	1.7
Totals	228	100.0	199	100.0	100	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0	49	100.0	726	100.0

	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Relig. Service Attn. (Adjust. Frequency)														
Once a Week	108	54.3	156	78.4	20	23.8	12	26.1	9	24.4	13	33.3	318	52.6
Once a Month	41	20.6	26	13.1	15	17.9	8	17.4	3	7.3	-	-	93	15.4
Less than a Month	25	12.6	12	6.0	16	19.0	14	30.4	8	22.0	15	38.5	90	14.9
Never	25	12.6	5	2.5	33	39.3	12	26.1	18	46.3	11	28.2	104	17.2
NA	29		-		16		4		62		10		121	
Totals	228	100.0	199	100.0	100	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0	49	100.0	726	100.0

TABLE 3.108

Membership in Organizations

Numbers of Organizations	Korean Immigrants N	Korean Immigrants %	Pilipino Immigrants N	Pilipino Immigrants %	Japanese Immigrants N	Japanese Immigrants %	Japanese Citizens N	Japanese Citizens %	Chinese Immigrants N	Chinese Immigrants %	Chinese Citizens N	Chinese Citizens %	Totals N	Totals %
0	44	19.3	103	51.8	35	35.0	14	28.0	70	70.0	31	63.3	297	40.9
1	98	43.0	45	22.6	43	43.0	12	24.0	22	22.0	9	18.4	229	31.5
2	54	23.7	23	11.6	14	14.0	10	20.0	5	5.0	4	8.2	110	15.2
3	21	9.2	14	7.0	5	5.0	5	10.0	1	1.0	3	6.1	49	6.8
4 - 5	10	4.4	9	4.5	2	2.0	6	12.0	2	2.0	-	-	29	4.0
6 - 10	1	0.4	5	2.5	-	-	3	6.0	-	-	2	4.0	11	1.5
10 & Over	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.1
Totals	228	100.0	199	100.0	100	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0	49	100.0	726	100.0

organizational membership. However, this reasoning does not necessarily hold true for the Chinese group, and their lack of organizational membership merits further investigation.

English Proficiency

Interviews were conducted either in English or in the Ethnic language of the respondent in accordance with the respondent's preference. When all or part of the interview was conducted in the ethnic language, the respondent was asked to evaluate his or her own level of English fluency (see Table 3.109). In those cases where the respondent indicated neither understanding nor speaking ability in English, females outnumber males in all six sub-groups, Compared to the other groups, the Chinese have a higher percentage of persons with limited or no English skills. When one adds to this the number who understand but do not speak English, well over 75% of the Chinese immigrants are included. This is a demographic characteristic (i.e., the ability to speak English), which may be related to the economic status of the respondents. One of the findings which is reported later is a lower socio-economic status for members of the Chinese community. It is possible to speculate from this fact that facility with the English language is an important variable in obtaining positions above the level of unskilled labor in the job market. It is also important to note from this table that there are no Pilipino immigrant or Japanese citizen respondents who do not understand English.

Language Used in Survey

The Korean group has the largest number of respondents in the sample, but has the lowest number of interviews conducted totally in English (1.8%). This finding is probably indicative of cultural forces which compel Koreans to interact in the Korean language among themselves and is not necessarily due to the lack of English proficiency. In fact the Korean group compares favorably with the other three immigrant groups on English fluency. Comparison of the Chinese and Japanese citizen groups highlights the discrepancy in the use of English for communication. While 80% of the interviews with Japanese citizens were conducted in English, only 35% of the interviews with Chinese citizens were done in English. A partial explanation can be found in the higher percentage of foreign born naturalized citizens among the Chinese group. The difference in percentage of interviews conducted in English does not occur when Japanese and Chinese immigrant groups are compared (Japanese 16% and Chinese 17%).

TABLE 3.109

Self-Evaluation of English Fluency by Respondents

English Fluency		Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Totals	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Fluently	M	12	11.8	31	37.8	4	13.7	3	50.0	4	10.5	5	31.2	59	21.7
	F	6	4.8	45	54.2	4	7.2	-	-	2	4.4	1	6.2	58	17.8
Adequately	M	54	53.4	45	54.8	16	55.1	2	33.0	4	10.5	3	18.7	124	45.6
	F	53	43.0	35	42.1	21	38.1	4	100.0	3	6.6	2	12.5	118	36.2
Understand but Can't Speak	M	33	32.6	6	7.3	8	27.6	1	16.0	16	42.1	5	31.2	69	25.4
	F	52	42.2	3	3.6	16	29.0	-	-	15	33.3	9	56.2	95	29.1
No Comprehension of Eng.	M	2	1.9	-	-	1	3.4	-	-	14	36.8	3	18.7	20	7.4
	F	12	9.7	-	-	14	25.4	-	-	25	55.5	4	25.0	55	16.9
Totals	M	101	99.7	82	99.9	29	99.7	6	99.0	38	99.9	16	99.8	272	100.1
	F	123	99.7	83	99.9	55	99.7	4	100.0	45	99.8	16	99.9	326	100.0

Place of Birth and Community Background

Because of the previously noted high urbanization among Asian groups in general and because this sample was also an urban one, it was considered important to ascertain the community background of the respondents. Respondents were asked about their place of birth and the size of the community in which they had lived prior to the age of eighteen. Table 3.110 presents a summary of this information. Although 84% of the Japanese citizens were born in the United States, only 20.4% of the Chinese citizens were American born.

Considerable difficulties were encountered in obtaining information about the size of the community in which the respondents grew up prior to age eighteen. During the pretest it was determined that most respondents did not know the size of the community in which they grew up, although they could give the names of villages or towns. Gross categorization, however, enabled the respondents to provide answers to this question. It is evident from Table 3.110 that well over half of the Korean respondents grew up in cities of over one million in population. This is in contrast to the Pilipino immigrants where the majority were raised in communities of under one-half million in size. A disparity between the Japanese and Chinese immigrants was also noted, the former coming predominantly from smaller communities and the latter from larger cities. This may be due to the fact that the Japanese immigrant group contains older persons who emigrated from rural areas in Japan at the turn of the century. This is in contrast to the Chinese immigrant group which contains many recent immigrants who are more likely to come from the larger cities such as Taipei and Hong Kong.

Among the Japanese citizen group, community backgrounds are split almost evenly between large and small communities while the Chinese citizen group is predominantly from large city backgrounds. For the Japanese citizen group, the movement to the city from smaller communities can be noted. The 84% of Japanese citizens who were born in the United States are split between large and small community backgrounds. This would seem to indicate that many were not born in Chicago but in other areas of the country where populations were much smaller. Historically, this could be expected since Chicago was one of the major resettlement areas for those Japanese who had been living on the West Coast (many of them rural dwellers and farmers) and had been interned during World War II.

Length of Residence

In order to assess whether the Asian population is of recent settlement or long term residence in the city of Chicago, as well as in the United States,

TABLE 3.110

Birthplace & Size of Early Community of Respondents Prior to 18 years of Age

	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Birth Place														
U.S.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	42	84.0	-	-	10	20.4	52	7.2
Mainl. China	1	0.4	-	-	6	6.0	-	-	87	87.0	36	73.5	130	17.9
Hong Kong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	3	6.1	4	0.6
Taiwan	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	8	8.0	-	-	9	1.2
Japan	8	3.5	-	-	93	93.0	8	16.0	-	-	-	-	109	15.0
Korea	217	95.2	1	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	218	30.0
Philippines	-	-	198	99.5	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	199	27.4
Others	2	0.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3.0	-	-	5	
Totals	228	100.0	199	100.0	100	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0	49	100.0	726	100.0

Community Size														
Farm, Village	23	10.1	24	13.1	34	34.0	14	28.0	37	37.0	15	30.6	147	20.7
Under ½ Million	33	14.5	97	53.0	30	30.0	15	30.0	7	7.0	3	6.1	185	26.1
½ to 1 Million	30	13.2	15	8.2	8	8.0	4	8.0	3	3.0	1	2.0	61	8.6
Over 1 Million	142	62.3	47	25.7	28	28.0	17	34	53	53.0	30	61.2	317	44.7
Totals	228	100.0	183	100.0	100	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0	49	100.0	710	100.0

respondents were asked how long they had lived both in Chicago and in the United States. As can be seen from Table 3.111, most of the Korean and Pilipino respondents have lived in Chicago less than six years while almost the reverse is true of the Japanese and Chinese. The Chinese show the widest spread in the length of residence in Chicago and this may reflect the recent increase of Chinese immigrants to Chinatown which has been comprised of American born and older immigrants who came to Chicago in the early twenties.

The differences between years in Chicago and years in the United States do not show any significant migration from other parts of the United States to this city for all groups except the Japanese citizens. This previously mentioned migration of Japanese citizens to the city from small communities, due most likely to the World War II dislocation, can be seen in this data.

Summary

In summary, this sample shows the following demographic characteristics. They are in their middle adulthood on the whole, although the range is from very young to very old. They are evenly distributed between males and females. The majority are married and living with their spouses in households which contain six or fewer persons. The Korean and the Pilipino groups tend more often to have children under the age of five than do the Chinese and Japanese. Most of the households are located in rented apartments. The groups are split along expected lines between Christian and Buddhist religious faiths, although the Chinese show a high percentage of "no preference" when asked about religion. The four groups differed in their frequency of membership in both religious and secular organizations, with the Koreans tending to belong to the highest number of both categories of organizations and the Chinese belonging to the fewest.The respondents generally spoke at least some English. The highest rate of self-reported English fluency was among the Pilipinos, and the lowest was among the Chinese. This was reflected in the language used in the survey with the exception of the Koreans who elected to converse in Korean with their Korean interviewers for cultural reasons.

The sample is primarily urban with city backgrounds predominant among the recent immigrants and rural backgrounds predominant among the older group (i.e., Japanese and Chinese). Thus we have a composite picture of an adult, male or female, approximately forty years of age, who is married and has or has had children, who follows the traditional religion of his group, who belongs minimally to organizations, whether religious or ethnic, and who originates from the type of background historically typical for the time when he or she immigrated to this country.

TABLE 3.111

Length of Residence in Chicago and U.S.

Length of Residence	Korean Immigrants N	Korean Immigrants %	Pilipino Immigrants N	Pilipino Immigrants %	Japanese Immigrants N	Japanese Immigrants %	Japanese Citizens N	Japanese Citizens %	Chinese Immigrants N	Chinese Immigrants %	Chinese Citizens N	Chinese Citizens %	Totals N	Totals %
Undr. 2 Yrs Chicago	75	32.9	45	22.6	5	5.0	-	-	6	6.0	2	4.1	133	18.3
Undr. 2 Yrs U.S.A.	62	27.2	37	18.6	5	5.0	-	-	4	4.0	-	-	108	14.9
2.1 - 4 Yrs Chicago	88	38.6	76	38.2	10	10.0	-	-	23	23.0	1	2.0	198	27.3
2.1 - 4 Yrs U.S.A	74	32.5	62	31.2	6	6.0	-	-	18	18.0	1	2.0	161	22.2
4.1 - 6 Yrs Chicago	42	18.4	57	28.7	15	15.0	-	-	25	25.0	2	4.0	141	19.4
4.1 - 6 Yrs U.S.A.	56	24.5	73	36.7	14	14.0	-	-	24	24.0	2	4.1	169	23.3
6.1 -10 Yrs Chicago	14	6.1	14	7.0	16	16.0	1	2.0	23	23.0	10	20.4	78	10.7
6.1 -10 Yrs U.S.A.	23	10.1	19	9.5	15	15.0	-	-	26	26.0	8	16.3	91	12.5
0.1 -20 Yrs Chicago	9	3.9	6	3.0	28	28.0	8	16.0	15	15.0	18	36.6	84	11.6
0.1 -20 Yrs U.S.A.	11	4.8	7	3.5	29	29.0	2	4.0	19	19.0	17	34.6	85	11.7
0.1 Yrs & Over Chicago	-	-	1	0.5	26	26.0	41	82.0	8	8.0	16	32.0	92	12.7
0.1 Yrs & Over U,S.A.	2	0.8	1	0.5	31	31.0	48	96.0	9	9.0	21	40.5	112	15.4
Size of Group Chicago	228	99.9	199	100.0	100	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0	49	100.0	726	100.0
Size of Group U.S.A	228	99.9	199	100.0	100	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0	49	100.0	726	100.0

Section II: Education, Employment and Income Characteristics

Education

The educational level achieved by members of each group in foreign countries and in the United States shows that most groups obtained their graduate and post professional training in the United States. Disregarding the location of that education, the Pilipino group is the most highly educated of the four groups, followed in turn by Korean,Japanese and Chinese (see Table 3.201). From this table, it is evident that more Chinese and Japanese respondents fall in the lower educational levels than do Koreans or Pilipinos. There are also fewer Chinese holding advanced degrees in this sample.

According to the 1970 census, 19% of the Japanese and 25% of the Chinese persons in the U.S. have four or more years of college. Our Japanese sample is slightly higher than the national average while our Chinese sample definitely has fewer college graduates than would be expected from the national figures. The national median for Japanese and Chinese is 12.6 years of schooling and for the Pilipinos 11.9 years. There is a very definite difference between our Pilipino sample and the 1970 census figure since the median for our sample is 16 years. The lower educational level found in the census may be due to the inclusion of older persons and rural residents as opposed to the predominance of young urban respondents in this sample.

Nationally the number of Pilipino women with a college education more than doubled between 1960 and 1970 while the proportion of Chinese women with a college education had increased only 3% and that for the Japanese women only 4% over the same ten year period. There are no comparable figures for Korean women. In this sample the Pilipino women have the highest proportion of persons with college degrees of all groups either male or female. Within the Japanese immigrant group, females definitely have lower educational levels than males and this is also true of the Chinese immigrants and citizens.

Employment Status

Table 3.202 represents the employment status of respondents and their spouses according to ethnic group, immigrant vs. citizen status, and sex. It can be noted from this table that there is a relatively low incidence of unemployment among all groups in this study indicating that underemployment is more likely the source of perceived problems.

It is noteworthy that there are no major differences between the male and female respondents holding full-time jobs, an indication that in many households

TABLE 3.201

Highest Educational Levels Achieved by Respondents & Spouses by Sex

Educational Levels		Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Totals	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Elem. or Under	M	3	1.7	1	0.7	-	-	-	-	13	19.1	8	26.7	25	5.3
	F	9	6.2	-	-	6	17.7	-	-	21	42.0	9	42.9	45	11.0
HS Grad. or Under	M	14	7.7	7	4.7	13	32.5	1	20.0	32	47.1	15	50.0	82	17.3
	F	25	17.1	4	2.6	18	52.9	2	66.7	12	24.0	11	52.4	72	17.5
HS & Beyond	M	18	9.9	17	11.3	10	25.0	2	40.0	4	5.9	5	16.7	56	11.8
	F	28	19.2	8	5.1	2	5.9	1	33.3	6	12.0	-	-	45	11.0
College Grad.	M	109	60.2	103	68.7	10	25.0	1	20.0	9	13.2	2	6.7	234	49.4
	F	74	50.7	112	71.3	6	17.7	-	-	8	16.0	1	4.8	201	48.9
Nursing	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	F	2	1.4	14	8.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	3.9
MS & PhD	M	27	14.9	8	5.3	4	10.0	-	-	9	13.2	-	-	48	10.1
	F	4	2.7	7	4.5	1	2.9	-	-	1	2.0	-	-	13	3.2
MD & Dental	M	3	1.7	6	4.0	2	5.0	-	-	1	1.5	-	-	12	2.5
	F	-	-	1	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.2
Post MD & PhD	M	7	3.9	8	5.3	1	2.5	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	17	3.6
	F	4	2.7	11	7.0	1	2.9	-	-	2	4.0	-	-	18	4.4
Totals *	M	181	100.0	150	100.0	40	100.0	5	100.0	68	100.0	30	100.0	474	100.0
	F	146	100.0	157	100.0	34	100.0	3	100.0	50	100.0	21	100.0	411	100.0

* The totals include respondents and their spouses, therefore, they do not correspond with the sample size.

TABLE 3.202

Employment Status of Respondents and Spouses by Sex

Employment Status		Korean Immigrants N	Korean Immigrants %	Pilipino Immigrants N	Pilipino Immigrants %	Japanese Immigrants N	Japanese Immigrants %	Japanese Citizens N	Japanese Citizens %	Chinese Immigrants N	Chinese Immigrants %	Chinese Citizens N	Chinese Citizens %	Totals N	Totals %
Full-Time	M	178	86.8	141	86.5	61	76.3	31	70.5	63	76.8	31	75.6	505	82.1
	F	136	61.8	142	75.9	29	34.1	22	50.0	45	52.3	19	44.2	393	59.1
Part-Time	M	5	2.4	3	1.8	4	5.0	1	2.3	3	3.7	3	7.3	19	3.1
	F	8	3.6	5	2.7	10	11.8	4	9.1	2	2.3	7	16.3	36	5.4
More Than One Job	M	12	5.9	13	8.0	4	5.0	5	11.4	3	3.7	1	2.4	38	6.2
	F	1	0.5	12	6.4	2	2.4	-	-	2	2.3	-	-	17	2.6
Unemp. Sick Disabled	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.3	2	2.4	2	4.9	5	0.8
	F	-	-	2	1.1	1	1.2	-	-	3	3.5	-	-	6	0.9
Retired	M	-	-	2	1.2	10	12.5	4	9.1	7	8.5	3	7.3	26	4.2
	F	-	-	-	-	8	9.4	-	-	5	5.8	3	7.0	16	2.4
Unemp. seeking Jobs	M	3	1.5	2	1.2	-	-	2	4.6	1	1.2	-	-	8	1.3
	F	9	4.1	5	2.7	1	1.2	-	-	2	2.3	-	-	17	2.6
Unemp. Not Seeking Job	M	4	2.0	1	0.6	1	1.3	-	-	3	3.7	-	-	9	1.5
	F	7	3.2	3	1.6	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	3	7.0	14	2.1
Homemaker	M	3	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0.5
	F	33	15.0	15	8.0	31	36.5	16	36.4	17	19.8	8	18.6	120	18.1
Never Emp.	M	-	-	1	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.4	2	0.3
	F	26	11.8	3	1.6	3	3.5	2	4.6	9	10.5	3	7.0	46	6.9
Totals*	M	205	100.0	163	100.0	80	100.0	44	100.0	82	100.0	41	100.0	615	100.0
	F	220	100,0	187	100,0	85	100.0	44	100,0	86	100,0	43	100,0	665	100,0

* The totals include respondents and their spouses, therefore, they do not correspond with the sample size.

both spouses may be working, Contrary to expectations, based on a casual observation of ethnic community members, only a few persons from all of the groups report having more than one job. There are virtunally no retired persons among the Korean and Pilipino groups.

Job Categories

All employed persons are listed according to job level in Table 3.203. There is a definite under-representation of both Japanese and Chinese in the professional level jobs and a low representation of all six groups at the managerial level. Among the Korean and Pilipino groups in the professional category, women and men are equally represented, with the women being slightly more numerous. This may be due in some measure to the inclusion of nurses in the professional category. This is in contrast to the Japanese and Chinese groups where the number of women in the professional category is much less than that of men. This sex difference within the Japanese and Chinese group is also carried over into the lower level occupations where women outnumber men, especially among the semi-skilled and unskilled clases of jobs. The majority of persons in all groups seem to be in either white collar, or semi-skilled and unskilled labor positions with the exception of a cluster of Korean and Pilipino persons in the professional category.

In order to determine whether the present job indicates underemployment for respondents who had been gainfully employed prior to immigration, these persons were asked to compare their current job level with those of jobs held in their native country. The results are presented in Table 3.204. In this table, the percentage of immigrants at each different job category level is shown both for foreign employment and for United States employment. Also included in this table are the percentage and direction of changes in job level. For example, if among the Korean immigrants 40% were employed as professionals before immigration and 27.9% are employed as professionals in the United States, Table 3.204 shows a net change of minus 12.1% in the number of Koreans who hold professional jobs here in this country. This same tabulation is provided for all immigrant groups and all job categories. Underemployment, or downward mobility is evident not only among the professional group but also among those Koreans and Pilipinos who had held managerial positions abroad. All six sub-groups show an increase in persons in the lower job categories, which may represent lowered job status of former professionals and managers.

Another important factor in the employment picture is job stability and job satisfaction. As would be expected, the Korean and Pilipino groups show shorter

TABLE 3.203

Occupational Categories of Respondents and Spouses by Sex

Job Categories		Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Totals	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional	M	50	24.5	71	45.5	14	20.3	5	13.2	15	21.4	4	10.9	159	27.7
	F	53	37.7	75	46.6	3	7.1	1	3.7	7	13.5	2	7.7	143	31.5
Managerial	M	7	3.4	6	3.8	2	2.9	6	15.8	-	-	2	5.4	23	4.0
	F	3	2.1	1	0.6	2	4.8	3	11.1	-	-	-	-	9	2.0
Propriator	M	33	16.2	1	0.6	6	8.7	6	15.8	5	7.2	10	27.0	61	10.6
	F	5	3.4	-	-	1	2.4	1	3.7	-	-	4	15.4	11	2.4
Skilled & White Collar	M	67	32.8	66	42.3	27	39.1	17	44.7	40	57.1	15	40.5	232	40.4
	F	40	27.4	78	48.5	14	33.3	14	51.9	12	23.1	6	23.1	164	36.1
Semi & Un-Skilled	M	47	23.0	12	7.7	20	29.0	4	10.5	10	14.3	6	16.2	99	17.3
	F	43	29.4	7	4.3	22	52.4	8	29.6	33	63.4	14	53.8	127	28.0
Totals*	M	204	100.0	156	100.0	69	100.0	38	100.0	70	100.0	37	100.0	574	100.0
	F	146	100.0	161	100.0	42	100.0	27	100.0	52	100.0	26	100.0	454	100.0

*The totals include respondents and their spouses, therefore, they do not correspond with the sample size.

TABLE 3.204

Comparison of Job Levels Between the U.S. and Native Countires of Respondents & Spouses

Ethnic Groups	Professional			Managerial			Skilled/White Collar			Propriators			Semi-, Unskilled		
	Frgn	USA	Change	Forgn	USA	Change	Forgn	USA	Change	Forgn	USA	Change	Forgn	USA	Change
Korean Immig.	40.0	27.9	-12.1	6.2	2.8	- 3.4	18.6	33.5	+14.9	1.9	6.1	+ 4.2	3.8	29.6	+25.8
Pilipino Immig.	55.5	44.0	-11.5	6.0	2.2	- 3.8	22.5	49.5	+27.0	1.1	0.0	- 1.1	2.7	4.4	+ 1.7
Japanese Immig	17.3	13.0	- 4.3	1.9	12.0	+10.1	24.0	38.0	+14.0	1.9	7.0	+ 5.1	17.3	30.0	+12.7
Chinese Immig.	12.9	13.5	+ 0.6	1.7	1.9	+ 0.2	10.3	40.4	+30.1	2.6	11.5	+ 8.9	19.0	32.7	+13.7

average employment length while the Japanese and Chinese groups vary widely in number of years on current jobs. A higher incidence of long term employment is present among both groups of Japanese as compared to their counterparts in the Chinese groups. Respondents were also asked whether or not they planned to stay on their present job and to indicate their reasons for either staying or leaving. The positive response of "plan to stay" is highest among the Japanese immigrants and citizens and among the Chinese citizens. Good pay, benefits, and good working conditions are given as the primary reasons for remaining on a job (see Table 3.205). A sizable number of the Chinese, Japanese and Korean immigrants responded with "the best job I could get under the circumstances", possibly indicating a degree of underemployment. Other groups score low on this response, indicating more positive reasons for staying on the job. The reasons given for leaving a job are much more varied and only the category of "poor pay" shows any noticeable frequency. Since all categories have a low frequency, it is not possible to make meaningful interpretations.

Because underemployment can also be defined as employment in a category or job below the level for which the individual has been trained, comparison was made of the relationship between highest education obtained and current job level. Among the respondents there were 565 persons who answered both questions. Although persons with medical training such as doctors and nurses do not seem to suffer severe underemployment (all are employed in a professional position), this does not necessarily indicate that they are functioning in jobs for which they have been trained. Many doctors and nurses expressed problems in obtaining a license or in taking examinations to obtain a license. Therefore, they are employed as salaried professional persons in large public hospitals in positions within professional categories but with lower pay. Their underemployment, therefore, comes not with respect to job categories but with respect to lowered position and earning power within a category. Those with advanced academic degrees fare even worse than the health professionals in that some of persons holding advanced academic degrees (graduate degress) work at semi-skilled and unskilled jobs which are unrelated to their education and training.

Family Income

For the discussion of family income in this section it is important to remember that the figure obtained represents combined family income and not always that of individual person or the head of a household. Over 50% of each group and 84% in the Pilipino group specifically, report both spouses working although a statistical analysis comparing incomes of one-income and two-income families

TABLE 3.205

Reasons Given by Respondents for Remaining on the Job*

Reasons for Remaining	Korean Immigrants N	Korean Immigrants %	Pilipino Immigrants N	Pilipino Immigrants %	Japanese Immigrants N	Japanese Immigrants %	Japanese Citizens N	Japanese Citizens %	Chinese Immigrants N	Chinese Immigrants %	Chinese Citizens N	Chinese Citizens %	Totals N	Totals %
Good Pay & Benefits	79	41.0	85	43.0	20	26.3	19	27.1	28	39.0	18	45.0	249	38.5
Good Working Conditions	41	21.0	65	32.8	14	18.4	11	15.7	17	23.6	11	27.5	159	24.5
Job Interest	18	13.5	22	11.1	20	26.3	25	35.7	8	11.1	5	12.5	103	15.8
Job Security	1	0.5	1	0.4	3	3.9	8	11.4	1	1.4	-	-	14	2.1
Best Job I could Get	38	19.8	7	3.5	13	17.1	5	7.1	17	23.6	4	10.0	84	13.0
Others	-	-	3	1.5	2	2.6	1	1.4	-	-	-	-	6	0.9
Size of Responses**	192	99.4	198	99.9	76	99.8	70	99.8	72	100.0	72	100.1	648	99.9

*The respondents who answered this question were those who were employed at the time of the interview.

**The respondents could give more than one responses to this question, therefore, the total responses do not correspond with those number of eligible respondents.

indicates that only among the Chinese and Korean groups does the presence of the second income make a significant difference in the total family income.

Table 3.206 shows the family income for each of the six groups. On the whole, Korean, Pilipino and Japanese groups fare better than the Chinese group . Both Chinese immigrants and Chinese citizens have median incomes below those of the other groups. It is noteworthy that both Chinese groups show a higher incidence of refusing to state family income than other groups and that among Japanese immigrants had the highest incidence of the respondent not knowing the family income. Among those respondents who did not know the family income, the majority seem to be retired older persons living with the families of their adult children. The Korean group was the most open in reporting income, followed by the Pilipinos. While it is interesting to speculate on the factors which might be responsible for this difference in willingness to report income, it is beyond the scope of this report. The important factor to be kept in mind is that the same procedure was used for all groups in obtaining this information.

More Koreans and Pilipinos are represented in the higher income categories than either Japanese or Chinese. This finding is at variance with data from the 1970 census in which higher incomes are reported for the Japanese and Chinese than for either the Pilipino or Korean groups. This finding is more likely to be a regional difference, i.e., the Chicago area includes a higher percentage of professionals from Korea and the Philippines than is true for the national figures. The lower income among the Chinese and the high disparity between the Chinese and the other three ethnic groups may be due to the lower educational attainment, job level, and lower English proficiency present in this group. It is also possible that a circular relationship might exist between the lower rate of use of the English language among the Chinese sample and their lower levels of education, occupational levels and economic status.

Data from the 1970 census on Japanese, Chinese and Pilipino in Illinois shows that 9% of the Japanese, 13% of the Chinese and 11% of the Pilipinos have family incomes under $4,000 per year. A smaller percentage of our Pilipino and Japanese samples are in this lower income category. The 1970 census also indicates that 68% of the Japanese and 60% of the Pilipinos in the State of Illinois had incomes of $10,000 or more. In this study, 69% of the Japanese and 78% of the Pilipinos have incomes in this range. Only 44% of our Chinese sample respondents have an income of $10,000 or more as compared to the 1970 Illinois State average of 55%. A comparison could not be made for the Korean sample because the 1970 census does

TABLE 3.206

Combined Annual Family Income

amily Annual Income	Korean Immigrants N	Korean Immigrants %	Pilipino Immigrants N	Pilipino Immigrants %	Japanese Immigrants N	Japanese Immigrants %	Japanese Citizens N	Japanese Citizens %	Chinese Immigrants N	Chinese Immigrants %	Chinese Citizens N	Chinese Citizens %	Totals N	Totals %
Under 3,000	3	1.3	–	–	5	5.0	2	4.0	5	5.0	3	6.1	18	2.5
3,001 - 6,999	10	4.4	12	6.0	9	9.0	1	2.0	22	22.0	6	12.2	60	8.3
7,000 - 8,999	5	2.2	20	10.1	7	7.0	2	4.0	18	18.0	5	10.2	57	7.9
9,000 - 11,999	34	15.0	21	10.5	10	10.0	8	16.0	11	11.0	9	18.3	93	12.8
12,000 - 14,999	47	20.6	37	18.6	15	15.0	4	8.0	7	7.0	4	8.2	114	12.8
15,000 - 19,999	60	26.3	40	20.1	18	18.0	11	22.0	7	7.0	4	8.2	140	19.3
20,000 - 24,999	50	21.9	36	18.1	9	9.0	3	6.0	8	8.0	2	4.1	108	14.9
25,000 - 49,999	15	6.6	22	11.5	5	5.0	11	22.0	8	8.0	4	8.2	65	9.0
50,000 & Over	–	–	3	1.5	2	2.0	2	4.0	2	2.0	2	4.1	11	1.5
Would not State Income	2	0.9	6	3.0	7	7.0	4	8.0	12	12.0	10	20.4	41	5.7
Don't Know	2	0.9	2	1.0	13	13.0	2	4.0	–	–	–	–	19	2.6
Total	228	100.0	199	100.0	100	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0	49	100.0	726	100.0
Median	16,622		16,219		16,111		18,636		10,286		13,170			
Mean	17,162		18,121		14,841		21,284		13,369		14,996			

not contain relevant information.

In order to clarify the distribution of family income within the groups, the relationship between the age of the respondent and the total family income was analysed. The Korean and Pilipino incomes are fairly uniform between the age of eighteen and forty. In these ages the income range of $12,000 to $20,000 is the most frequent for both groups. Among the Japanese immigrants there are ten persons 66 years and older having incomes below $5,000. The Japanese citizen group tends to have the highest incomes in the 41 to 65 year range. The Japanese immigrants are spread out much more evenly among all the age groups, but at a slightly lower level of income. The Chinese immigrants and citizens have more people in the under $5,000 category at all age levels than do any of the other groups. They also have fewer people at the higher income level. The Chinese immigrants have their highest income for most age categories in the $5,000 to $9,000 range, with only the 51 to 65 year group showing incomes in the $9,000 to $12,000 range.

In order to gain a subjective estimate of the adequacy of their income, respondents were asked to indicate what income they would consider "adequate" for their family. This is compared with the real income reported for the family for each group in Table 3.207. The groups are listed according to what percentage of each group's real income is better, equal or less than their "adequate" income by three income categories. For example, if a family's real income falls in the $9,000 to $11,999 range and what they considered to be an adequate income also falls in this range, they would be listed as "real income equal to adequate income." If, however, they listed the $12,000 to $19,999 range as adequate they would be listed in the "one interval minus" category. As can be seen from this table, the Chinese citizens least often consider their real income equal or better than an adequate income, yet the Chinese immigrant group has the highest percentage of such persons. It is interesting to note that over two-thirds of the Korean, Japanese and Chinese immigrants and Japanese citizens feel their income is equal to or better than that which they consider adequate, and that the Pilipinos fall just short of this two-thirds mark. The reader must be careful to keep in mind that a family income may combine two equal incomes, a single income, one small and one large income. This makes comparison of income per person with any other relevant personal variables impossible. However, comparison of the "adequate income" and "real income" data indicates the level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction that respondents feel toward their economic status.

In summary, although no firm conclusions can be derived because of the fragmentation of the sample sizes, it is nevertheless possible to make a few

TABLE 3.207

Relationship of Real Income to Adequate Income

	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Real Income Greater Than														
By 3 or More	2	0.9	3	1.6	-	-	1	2.3	3	3.6	-	-	9	1.3
By 2	10	4.5	2	1.1	3	3.9	2	4.6	8	9.5	3	8.6	28	4.2
By 1	40	18.0	24	12.6	11	14.3	12	27.3	18	21.4	5	13.4	110	16.8
Real Income Equal to Adeq. Income	101	45.5	91	47.9	41	53.3	18	40.9	41	48.8	11	32.5	303	46.4
Real Income Less than														
By 1	56	25.2	61	32.1	17	22.1	10	22.7	14	16.7	12	34.3	170	26.0
By 2	9	4.1	7	3.7	4	5.2	1	2.3	-	-	4	11.4	25	3.8
By 3 or more	4	1.8	2	1.1	1	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1.0
Total of Equal or Better	153	68.9	120	63.2	55	71.4	33	75.0	70	83.3	19	54.5	450	69.0
Size of Responses*	222		190		77		44		84		35		652	

*Since not all respondents answered the two questions about their total annual income (real) and "adequate" income the numbers on this row do not correspond to the size of the total sample. The percentages are adjusted in relation to responses, not toal respondents.

statements. Most of the sample families have at least two incomes. Most of the respondents among the Korean and Pilipino groups have college and graduate education. The downward movement of persons in professional and managerial jobs is more apparent among the Korean and Pilipino professionals. Whatever the real family income level, all groups except the Chinese citizen group considered their real income adequate or better, thus indicating satisfaction with their earning capacity.

Section III: Immigration Experience

Foreign born respondents, both recent immigrants and naturalized U.S. citizens, were asked a series of questions relating to their immigration experience. These questions relate to their reasons for coming to this country, the presence of family network in the United States, experiences upon arrival, difficulties in adjusting to life in the United States, and overall evaluation of the decision to immigrate to the United States.

Reasons for Immigration

Table 3.301 shows the major reasons given by each of the four groups for immigrating to the United States. Those given by the Korean immigrants are: 1) educational opportunites, 2) joining family, 3) higher standard of living, and 4) work opportunities. Women outnumber men in immigrating to "join family" while men outnumber the women by a substantial number for reasons of "educational opportunity." The Pilipino group gives "work opportunities" and "work training" most often as reasons for immigration. This is consistent with the recent influx of Pilipino immigrants who are professionals and/or students. Similar responses are also given by the Japanese immigrants; again the women are higher in the categories of "came to marry" and "to join family." Chinese responses are higher in the categories of "educational and work opportunities" and "higher standard of living" than those of the Japanese.

Family Network in Chicago and in the United States

Among the Koreans 79.8% of the respondents have relatives living in the United States and of these, 55.6% live in Chicago. For the Pilipino immigrants, 89.9% have relatives in the United States, of which 53.6% are living in Chicago. Among the Japanese immigrants 76.8% have relatives in the United States and 56.9% of these relatives live in Chicago. For the Chinese, 92% have relatives in the United States, with 65.1% of them living in Chicago. These figures indicate that most of the immigrants in our sample are part of a family network system in this country with over half of these relatives residing in Chicago. These figures alone, however, are not sufficient indicators of a support system since additional factors, such as frequency and quality of interaction within the family were not explored.

The relatives living in Chicago are tabulated in Table 3.302 according to family relationship. A smaller percentage in each of the groups have parents living in Chicago than might have been expected. The highest categories of relatives are siblings for the Koreans and "other relatives" for the Chinese

TABLE 3.301

Reasons Given for Immigration to the United States by Foreign Born Respondents

Reasons for Immigration		Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants*		Chinese Immigrants*		Totals	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Join Family	M	14	7.2	30	9.5	24	25.8	39	23.2	107	14.0
	F	70	39.1	37	11.7	36	42.4	54	25.0	197	26.7
Educational Opportunity	M	66	35.5	60	19.0	14	15.0	18	10.7	158	20.7
	F	24	13.4	55	17.4	1	1.1	14	8.8	94	12.8
Job Training Opportunity	M	11	5.9	73	23.1	9	9.7	11	6.5	104	13.6
	F	11	6.1	70	22.1	-	-	14	8.8	95	12.9
Higher Stand. Living	M	39	21.0	49	15.6	18	19.3	40	17.3	146	19.1
	F	30	16.8	49	15.5	8	9.4	30	19.2	117	15.9
Better Work Opport.	M	33	17.7	81	25.7	15	16.1	47	28.0	176	23.1
	F	24	13.4	76	24.0	1	1.1	28	18.0	129	17.5
Education of Children	M	8	4.3	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.5	10	1.3
	F	12	6.7	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.6	14	3.4
Adventure/Make Fortune	M	3	1.6	7	2.2	10	10.7	-	-	20	2.6
	F	3	1.7	16	5.1	4	4.7	-	-	23	3.1
To Get Married	M	-	-	1	0.3	1	1.1	-	-	2	0.2
	F	1	0.6	2	0.6	35	37.6	4	2.5	42	5.7
To Avoid Adverse Political Situation at Home Country	M	12	6.4	13	4.1	2	2.2	12	7.1	39	5.1
	F	4	2.2	10	3.2	-	-	11	7.0	25	3.8
Size of Responses**	M	186	100.0	315	100.0	93	100.0	168	100.0	762	100.0
	F	179	100.0	316	100.0	85	100.0	156	100.0	736	100.0

*Included in this immigrant category are naturalized Chinese and Japanese citizens.

**Respondents could give as many responses as they wished, thus size of responses do not correspond with sample size.

TABLE 3.302

Presence of Immigrant Respondents' Relatives in Chicago And the U.S.

	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants*		Chinese Immigrants*		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total # of Relatives in the U.S.	182	79.8	179	89.9	83	76.8	123	92.0	572	84.0
Total # of Relatives in Chicago	184	55.6	180	53.6	95	54.6	153	65.1	612	56.9
Parents in Chicago	56	16.9	31	9.2	17	9.8	35	14.9	139	12.9
Siblings in Chicago	89	26.9	57	17.0	37	21.3	45	19.1	228	21.2
Other Rel. in Chicago	39	11.8	92	27.4	41	23.6	73	31.1	245	22.8

*These include naturalized citizens.

and Pilipinos.

Sources of Help Received as New Immigrants in the United States

In order to ascertain the need for and use of assistance by immigrants upon arrival, respondents were asked what types and from whom they had received assistance when they arrived in the United States. Table 3.303 indicates those who received assistance from either spouses, parents, or siblings. Among the Chinese a pattern of the spouse having arrived earlier and being followed by the respondent is made evident from the number reporting the spouse as the source of assistance. For slightly over half of the respondents in all groups, immediate family is the primary source of help.

Table 3.304 shows the major types of assistance given to new immigrants by non-relatives. The predominant form of assistance among all groups is the provision of lodging during the first months of residence in the United States. This is followed in frequency by "received emotional support" for all groups except the Chinese. The third most frequent type of aid is locating a place to stay and finding a job. The respondents were asked to list all types of assistance received. Korean reported receiving from one to five types of assistance with 27.6% receiving one, 29.1% receiving two, and 43.3% receiving three or more. Among the Pilipinos the range is also from one to five with 34.8% receiving one, 22.7% receiving two, and 42.5% receiving three or more. Comparing these figures with those from the Japanese and Chinese groups, the Korean and Pilipino groups receive more and different types of assistance from non-relatives upon arrival. It is possible that this difference is due to the Japanese and Chinese groups receiving assistance from their immediate family member, in which case they would report receiving less assistance from non-related persons.

Adjustment Areas Perceived as Problematics

One way to decide what kind of services might be necessary for Asian persons in this country is to ascertain which areas of adjustment they consider to have been problematic during the time immediately after immigration. Table 3.305 lists areas considered stressful by immigrant respondents. Language presents a major problem for all groups except the Pilipinos. On the other hand, the Pilipino group has the highest percentage of persons indicating "change in climate" as being a problem in their adjustment to the United States. The two categories which have large frequencies are "different life style." Problems of food changes and lack of contact with other ethnic members are low for all four groups. This is not surprising since a high number of immigrants had relatives here. Additionally,

TABLE 3.303

Sources of Help Provided for Immigrant Respondents Upon Their Arrival in Chicago

Number and Source of Help	Korean Immigrants N	Korean Immigrants %	Pilipino Immigrants N	Pilipino Immigrants %	Japanese Immigrants* N	Japanese Immigrants* %	Chinese Immigrants N	Chinese Immigrants %	Totals N	Totals %
Help Received Upon Arrival in Chicago	189	82.8	167	84.0	96	88.8	119	85.6	571	
Sources of Help										
Spouses	66	32.2	40	21.0	50	47.2	73	59.8	229	36.8
Siblings and/or Parents	44	21.5	44	23.2	7	6.6	16	13.1	111	17.8
Non-Family Members	95	46.3	106	55.8	49	46.2	33	27.1	283	45.4
Totals	205	100.0	190	100.0	106	100.0	122	100.0	623	100.0

*This groups include naturalized citizens who immigranted earlier.

TABLE 3.304

Types of Assistance Received by the Immigrant Respondents from Non-Relatives Upon Their Arrival in Chicago**

Types of Assistance	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants*		Chinese Immigrants*		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lodging (Stayed with Them)	79	23.3	108	32.6	20	20.6	22	21.8	229	26.4
Found a Place to Stay	62	18.3	35	10.6	9	9.3	16	15.8	122	14.1
Loan	10	2.9	26	7.9	6	6.2	12	11.9	54	6.2
Helped to Find a Job	39	11.5	45	13.6	6	6.2	23	22.8	113	13.0
Introduced me to Others Who Could Help	15	4.4	18	5.4	5	5.2	5	5.0	43	5.0
Emotional Support,Encouragement	63	18.6	35	10.6	22	22.7	5	5.0	125	14.4
Others	71	20.9	64	19.3	29	29.9	18	17.8	182	21.0
Size of Responses**	339	100.0	331	100.0	97	100.0	101	100.0	868	100.0

*Included in this immigrant category are naturalized Chinese and Japanese citizens.

**Respondents could give as many responses as they wished, but for this table, only the first two choices were counted. Therefore, the total responses to not correspond with total respondents.

TABLE 3.305

Problem Areas Associated with Immigration

Problem Areas		Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants*		Chinese Immigrants*		Totals	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Language	M	91	89.2	46	48.4	36	83.7	55	82.1	228	74.3
	F	111	89.5	44	42.3	57	89.1	62	88.6	274	75.7
Homesickness	M	35	34.3	52	54.7	21	48.8	28	41.8	136	44.3
	F	81	65.3	81	77.9	36	56.3	33	47.1	231	63.8
Lack of Ethnic Person Contacts	M	31	30.4	26	27.4	11	25.6	25	37.3	93	30.3
	F	41	33.3	24	23.1	22	34.4	28	40.0	115	31.8
Food Differences	M	18	17.6	26	27.4	12	27.9	15	22.4	71	23.1
	F	27	21.8	19	18.3	21	32.8	16	22.9	83	22.9
Weather Differences	M	15	14.7	82	86.3	12	27.9	30	45.5	139	45.3
	F	26	21.0	89	86.4	26	40.6	40	57.1	181	50.0
Life Style/Cultural Differences	M	49	48.0	44	46.3	27	62.8	36	53.7	156	50.8
	F	51	41.1	39	37.5	39	60.0	45	65.2	174	48.1
Size of Responses**	M	239		276		119		189			
	F	337		296		201		224			
Total Eligible Respondents		228		199		1		139			

*Both immigrants and naturalized citizens in Japanese and Chinese samples are included in this enumeration.
**Respondents could give more than one responses to these questions.

Chicago contains fairly well concentrated ethnic enclaves for all four groups, which means that opportunities to interact with one's own ethnic group members and to obtain ethnic food are available. These factors would lower the incidence of problems associated with food preferences and desire for group contact, at least among the young and middle aged working adults. Hunger for human interactions are more intense among the older respondents who complained helplessly about their loneliness.

Use of English Classes

Because of the predominance of English communication difficulties, respondents were asked about if they had taken English conversation classes or lessons. 59% of the Koreans, 52% of the Japanese. 41.7% of the Chinese and 24.2% of the Pilipino respondents have taken such lessons or classes. This incidence of taking English conversation classes correlates with the previously noted level of English fluency in the groups (cf Table 3.108). The Pilipinos show high English fluency, low incidence of language as a problem, and low incidence of English classes being taken. The Chinese show a high incidence of language problems, a low degree of fluency and yet a lower use of English classes than either the Korean or Japanese groups. This study did not probe the availability of English classes for the Chinese as compared to the two other groups. However, lack of such classes as a factor for Chinese respondents can be surmised from their listing of English classes as their top priority when asked to indicate service priorities.

Evaluation of Immigration Decision

Respondents' evaluation of their decision to immigrate to the United States is summarized in Table 3.306. As can be seen from this table very few of the respondents show any regrets over immigrating or any plans to return to their native country. There are, however, some respondents who are uncertain about their decision. The Koreans show the highest percentage of this response followed closely by the Japanese immigrants. The Pilipino immigrants have the lowest in this category. The Koreans have the lowest number of persons definitely happy about their decision. The number in this category (42%) is well below the level of any other group. This may indicate more problems in adjustment among this group, or their expressed ambivalence about leaving their native country may be due to their relatively short length of residence in the United States.

In summary, most Asian immigrants came to this country for education and work opportunities if male, and to join family if female. They came with family networks already existing, although that network may consist of recent immigrants. Over

TABLE 3.306

Evaluation of Decision to Emigrate

ecisions		Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens*		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens*		Totals	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, Definitely Happy	M	44	43.6	63	66.3	22	59.5	4	66.7	29	60.4	14	73.7	176	57.5
	F	45	36.3	61	58.7	31	50.8	1	50.0	30	58.8	14	73.7	182	50.4
Yes, w Reservation	M	28	27.7	23	24.2	8	21.6	2	33.3	9	18.8	3	15.8	73	23.9
	F	36	29.0	27	26.0	18	29.5	1	50.0	9	17.7	3	15.8	94	26.0
Uncertain	M	19	18.8	5	5.3	5	13.5	-	-	6	12.5	1	5.3	36	11.8
	F	34	27.4	11	10.6	10	16.4	-	-	6	11.8	2	10.5	63	17.5
Regrets	M	4	4.0	1	1.1	2	5.4	-	-	1	2.1	1	5.3	9	2.9
	F	7	5.7	-	-	1	1.6	-	-	4	7.8	-	-	12	3.3
Plan to Return	M	6	5.9	3	3.2	-	-	-	-	3	6.3	-	-	12	3.9
	F	2	1.6	5	4.8	1	1.6	-	-	2	3.9	-	-	10	2.8
Totals	M	101	100.0	95	100.0	37	100.0	6	100.0	48	100.0	19	100.0	306	100.0
	F	124	100.0	104	100.0	61	100.0	2	100.0	51	100.0	19	100.0	361	100.0

* These are naturalized citizens who were asked immigration related questions.

half received their first assistance from immediate family, and of those who received initial assistance from others, it was primarily in the form of either a place to stay or emotional support. The predominant problem for the immigrants was language, with the exception of the Pilipinos. The differences in life style and homesickness also were frequent problems in all four groups. One the whole, immigrants were satisfied with their decision to come to this country, although some of the more recent groups still showed some ambivalence.

Section IV: Problems and Problem Solving Activities

The preceding sections have dealt with characteristics of the immigrant sample which might contribute to development of problems and therefore, might indicate needed services. This section deals with the perception of problems by respondents and their choice of problem solving activities. In order to encourage the respondents to share their problems as well as of problem solving activities, each problem area was dealt with first on a hypothetical and then on an experiential basis. Respondents were asked to deal with problems and problem solving activities in an "as if" or generalized fashion before they were asked specifically whether they had experienced a particular problem or whether they had engaged in a particular problem solving activity. This type of questioning enabled individuals to respond to the problem areas they might not have experienced personally and the areas they might not be willing to express in specific and personal terms. It should be noted that some tables in this section do not divide the Japanese and Chinese groups into citizen versus immigrant sub-groups where the differences between the two were small.

Community Level Problem Perception

Table 3.401 shows those problem areas which are listed by respondents as being areas of difficulty for "a person of respondent's ethnic background living in Chicago." This question was asked at the beginning of the interview and again at the conclusion of the interview. The answers given to these open-ended questions yielded 83 different problems which were then grouped into seven categories.

All groups indicate a number of problems and concerns related to their living in Chicago as Asian persons. Only 6.1% of the Korean, 13.6% of the Pilipino, 19.1% of the Chinese and 32% of the Japanese did not express any opinion or problem.

In order to analyze problem perceptions, socio-economic indicators such as education, occupational levels and income were crosstabulated with problem perception categories for all six groups. The results did not show any statistically significant differences in the perception of problems. The general trends within each group support the assumption that persons with better jobs, higher education and more income do not perceive themselves or their community to be having

TABLE 3.401

Problems Related to Living in Chicago Citied by Respondents

Problem areas	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immig. & Citzn		Chinese Immig. & Citzn		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Interpersonal & Psycho. Adjust.	16	7.0	3	1.5	6	4.1	10	6.8	35	4.9
Language & Cultural Difference Adjust.	137	60.0	57	28.6	38	25.9	73	49.7	305	42.3
Discrimination	17	7.5	55	27.6	30	20.4	9	6.1	111	15.4
Employment	15	6.6	20	10.1	1	0.7	4	2.7	40	5.6
City Liv. Stress	16	7.0	27	13.6	16	10.9	20	13.6	79	11.0
Ethnic Comm. Conflicts	13	5.7	10	5.0	9	6.1	3	2.0	35	4.9
No Problems	14	6.1	27	13.6	47	32.0	28	19.1	116	16.1
Total	228	100.0	199	100.0	147	100.0	147	100.0	721	100.0

as many problems as do persons with lower levels of income, education and occupation. Problem perception among the higher socio-economic group is more in the interpersonal and social realm, while lower socio-economic groups express problems in survival related matters such as finances and employment.

Problems Actually Experienced

Table 3.402 shows those problems reported as having actually been experienced. Among the Korean and the Chinese, the highest percentage are in "adjusting to American life style due to language and cultural differences." After this, the next most frequent problem for all four groups is "insufficient income." All four groups report experiencing difficulties in locating jobs and problems on the job. These two job related categories are higher for the recent immigrant groups, the Koreans and the Pilipinos. Locating housing is listed as a problem by all four groups but at a lower level than the other categories. Getting medical service is particularly difficult for the Chinese, while the Koreans, more than any other group, list family and inter-personal problems. The Koreans score high on most problem listings. However, it is difficult to know how many people are actually involved in expressions of these problems because a respondent could give positive response to all of the seven problem categories.

This listing of problem areas experienced by each group indicates that Asian persons do indeed experience and encounter difficulties. They may not advertize them, but this reticence should not be interpreted as evidence that problems do not exist. This sample may even under-represent the problems within the Asian community. The respondents in the survey are not necessarily the head of a household. This fact may leave them unaware of many possible problem areas. In fact, the retired and older respondents among the Chinese and Japanese groups responded frequently with "I don't know" to these questions.

Discrimination in housing and employment is treated separately; employment is further broken down into whether the respondents had lost a job or had been passed over for promotion because of discrimination (see Table 3.403). Although few report having lost a job because of discrimination, the figure for on-the-job discrimination is higher. In this category, the range is from 11% for Japanese immigrants to 22% for Japanese citizens. Being passed over for promotion because of discrimination occurs among the Pilipino immigrants to

TABLE 3.402

Actual Problems Experienced by Respondents*

Actual Problems Experienced	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immig. & Citzn		Chinese Immig. & Citzn		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Insufficient Income	89	39.0	68	34.2	54	36.0	44	29.5	255	22.5
Locating Job	77	33.8	42	21.2	29	19.3	30	20.1	178	15.6
Probl. on Job	54	23.7	46	23.1	33	22.1	29	19.5	162	14.2
Getng Medical Serv.	38	16.7	10	5.1	12	8.1	34	22.8	94	8.2
Locating Housing	39	17.2	24	12.2	32	21.3	27	18.1	122	10.7
Adj. Prob. due to Language & Lf Diff.	104	45.6	46	23.1	34	22.7	70	47.0	254	22.3
Family Conflict	29	12.7	13	6.6	14	9.3	15	10.1	71	6.2
Size of Responses	430		249		208		167		1136	

*Percentage on each cell was derived by dividing positive responses with the total respondents in each ethnic group on each questions. Therefore, the percentage on each column do not total up to 100%.

TABLE 3.403

Discrimination Experienced by Respondents in Housing and Employment Situation*

Discrimination Areas	Korean Immigrants N	Korean Immigrants %	Pilipino Immigrants N	Pilipino Immigrants %	Japanese Immigrants N	Japanese Immigrants %	Japanese Citizens N	Japanese Citizens %	Chinese Immigrants N	Chinese Immigrants %	Chinese Citizens N	Chinese Citizens %	Total N	Total %
Housing														
Yes, Definitely	20	8.8	7	3.6	8	8.1	18	36.7	2	2.0	4	8.5	59	8.2
Yes, Probably	13	5.7	2	1.0	3	3.0	1	2.0	6	6.0	4	8.5	29	4.0
Total	33	14.5	9	4.6	11	11.1	19	38.7	8	8.0	8	17.0	88	12.3
Lost Job														
Yes, Definitely	2	0.9	3	1.5	3	3.1	-	-	-	-	1	2.1	9	1.3
Yes, Probably	1	0.4	3	1.5	-	-	4	8.0	2	2.0	-	-	10	1.4
Total	3	1.3	6	3.0	3	3.1	4	8.0	2	2.0	1	2.1	19	2.7
Passed Over Promo.														
Yes, Definitely	40	17.5	9	4.6	7	7.1	7	14.0	12	12.0	6	12.8	81	11.3
Yes, Probably	22	9.6	19	9.6	4	4.0	4	8.0	9	9.0	3	6.4	61	8.5
Total	62	27.3	28	14.3	11	11.1	11	22.0	21	21.0	9	19.1	142	19.8

* Percentage on each cell was derived by dividing responses with the total respondents in each ethnic group on each question. Therefore, the percentage need to be considered in relation to the total numbers of respondents in each ethnic groups.

the extent of 21.9% and among Korean immigrants at a rate of 15.1%. For the problem of discrimination in housing, the highest percentage again is among Japanese citizens, 38.7% of whom report having experienced discrimination. Considering the difficulties encountered by the Japanese in their resettlement in Chicago after their internment camp experiences, 38.7% appears to be low. However, it could not be assumed that all of the Japanese citizens in this study came from internment camp.

When the length of time here in the United States is compared with discrimination experiences, among the Japanese it is with longer residence in the United States who indicate a higher rate of discrimination, while among the Chinese it is the recent immigrants who express discrimination. For the Korean and Pilipino groups, no overall pattern appears.

Hypothetical Problem Solutions

In addition to knowing what problems were perceived and experienced, it is equally important to know how much information respondents have about the availability of resources and the extent to which they use them. Again, this issue is dealt with first on a hypothetical, general level and then on a concrete experiential level.

Respondents were asked about hypothetical "what if" problems. For example, they were asked "where would you go if a physical accident occurred to you or a member of your family?" The answer to this question not only indicates knowledge of appropriate resources but also preferences. Both physical (see Table 3.404) and psychological (see Table 3.405) areas are considered. The two tables can be compared to show similarities and differences. For physical problems, the majority of all groups primarily use public resources. The only deviation from this is among the Japanese who tend to have an even split between public resources and the use of family or relatives as resources. A difference in type of response occurs for psychological problems. Although there is still a high percentage using hospitals or doctors, there is a much wider range of choices for solving problems in this area. Attention should be given to the Chinese group who have much higher incidence of not knowing where to go for either situation.

TABLE 3.404

Resources Cited in Hypothetical Medical Emergency Situation

Help Sources	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immig & Citzn		Chinese Immig. &Citzn		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hosp. or Dr. Named	97	42.5	115	58.1	46	30.7	36	24.2	294	40.6
Hosp. or Dr. Un-named	101	44.3	42	21.2	54	36.0	79	53.0	276	38.1
Family/Relatives	16	7.0	13	6.6	31	20.7	5	3.4	65	9.0
Friends (Ethnic)	2	0.9	5	2.5	6	4.0	8	5.4	21	2.9
Friends (Unspecf.)	2	0.9	4	2.5	2	1.3	-	-	8	1.1
Ethnic Relig. Org.	6	2.6	1	0.5	5	3.3	-	-	12	1.7
Not Thought Abt.	-	-	1	0.5	-	-	-	-	1	0.1
Fire & Police Dept.	3	1.3	13	6.6	4	2.7	7	4.7	27	3.7
Don't Know Where to Go	1	0.4	4	2.0	2	1.3	14	9.4	21	2.9
Totals	228	100.0	198	100.0	150	100.0	149	100.0	725	100.0

TABLE 3.405

Resources Cited in Hypothetical Situation of Mental Illness

Help Sources	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immig. & Citzn		Chinese Immig. & Citzn		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hosp.or Dr. Named	42	18.2	54	27.1	25	16.8	9	6.0	130	17.9
Hosp. or Dr. Un-named	120	52.6	108	54.3	72	48.3	69	46.3	369	50.9
Family/Relatives	17	7.5	8	4.0	27	18.1	14	9.4	66	9.1
Friends (Ethnic)	5	2.2	5	2.5	5	3.4	12	8.1	27	3.7
Friends (Unspecf.)	2	0.9	2	1.0	-	-	-	-	4	0.6
Ethnic Relig. Org.	17	7.5	-	-	10	6.7	4	2.7	31	4.3
Not Thought Abt.	2	0.9	1	0.5	1	0.7	1	0.7	5	0.7
Police/Fire Dept.	5	2.2	1	0.5	3	2.0	1	0.7	10	1.4
Don't Know Where to Go	18	7.9	20	10.1	6	4.0	39	26.2	83	11.5
Totals	228	100.0	199	100.0	149	100.0	149	100.0	725	100.0

A second hypothetical problem presented to respondents was "seeking a job" (see Table 3.406). Again a wide variation exists among the four groups in type of help used for this situation. Over half of the Chinese respondents cite ethnic friends as resource while more Koreans rate self-reliance as a choice.

A third hypothetical category of problem relates to discrimination on the job. Responses indicate that there would be a relatively low incidence of turning to family or friends in all groups. The only one that chose active public responding, specifically the use of civil rights agencies or litigation, are the Pilipinos (see Table 3.407). Giving up or passive acceptance of such discrimination is the modal response among the Korean group, and among the Chinese, there is a high percentage of persons not knowing where to go. This same question of discrimination was also asked with regard to housing (see Table 3.408) and the results are very similar except for an increase among the Pilipinos in the number of persons not knowing where to go for help.

When each of these three hypothetical discrimination questions is compared to length of residence in the United States, the Korean and Pilipino respondents showed no differences in pattern of response. Among the Japanese, persons with longer residence in the United States indicated they would respond more actively by using the civil rights and ethnic organizations for redress. On the other hand, the opposite tendency is shown by the Chinese, i.e., the longer their residence in the United States, the more likely they were either to say they would give up or that they would not know where to go.

When solutions to hypothetical personal problems are considered, there is a decided shift in the responses given for help that would be sought and resources that would be utilized. For financial problems (see Table 3.409), family or relatives would most often be used, followed by loans from banks or credit unions. Again, the Chinese responses indicate that they would be higher than any other group in relying on self and/or not knowing where to go. For marital problems (see Table 3.410) there would be a definite shift to self-reliance among all groups, with only the Pilipino group reporting any preference for a marriage counselor or lawyer. In this last instance, although all groups are high in not knowing where they would go, the Chinese are still the group with the largest percentage in this category.

TABLE 3.406

Resources Cited in Hypothetical Search for a Job

Sources of Help	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immig. & Citzn		Chinese Immig. & Citzn		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Classified Ads	80	35.7	61	30.8	37	25.9	20	13.5	198	27.8
Emp. Agency, Public/Private	30	13.4	73	36.9	33	23.1	13	8.8	149	20.9
Family/Relatives	8	3.6	9	4.5	5	3.5	3	2.0	25	3.5
Ethnic Friends	17	7.6	17	8.6	21	14.7	81	54.7	136	19.1
Friends (Unspecified)	2	0.9	5	2.5	11	7.7	3	2.0	21	3.0
Ethnic Church Org.	14	6.3	2	1.0	11	7.7	-	-	27	3.8
More than one Resources	-	-	1	0.5	-	-	-	-	1	0.1
Self-Reliance	60	26.8	15	7.6	14	9.8	15	10.1	104	14.6
DK Where to Go	13	5.8	15	7.6	11	7.7	13	8.8	52	7.3
Totals	224	100.0	198	100.0	143	100.0	148	100.0	713	100.0

TABLE 3.407

Resources Cited to Deal with Hypothetical Discrimination in Seeking Jobs

Responses to Discrimination	Korean Immigrants N	Korean Immigrants %	Pilipino Immigrants N	Pilipino Immigrants %	Japanese Immigrants N	Japanese Immigrants %	Japanese Citizens N	Japanese Citizens %	Chinese Immigrants N	Chinese Immigrants %	Chinese Citizens N	Chinese Citizens %	Total N	Total %
Civil Rights Org.	33	14.5	105	53.3	13	13.4	18	36.0	3	3.0	9	18.4	181	25.0
Give Up	127	55.7	37	18.7	36	37.2	21	42.0	48	48.0	24	48.9	293	40.4
Family & Friends	2	0.8	3	1.5	7	7.2	1	2.0	5	5.0	1	2.0	19	2.6
Ethnic Org.	1	0.4	9	4.6	7	7.2	1	2.0	2	2.0	-	-	19	2.6
Denial of Discrimi.	9	3.9	6	3.0	14	14.4	5	10.0	7	7.0	4	8.2	45	6.2
Self Reliance	16	7.0	2	1.0	6	6.2	1	2.0	4	4.0	-	-	29	4.0
DK Where to Go	40	17.5	35	17.8	14	14.4	3	6.0	31	31.0	11	22.4	134	18.5
Total	228	100.0	197	100.0	97	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0	49	100.0	724	99.3

TABLE 3.408

Resources Cited to Deal with Hypothetical Discrimination in Seeking Housing

Responses to Discrimination	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Civil Rights Org.	44	19.3	83	42.1	15	15.3	20	40.0	13	13.0	8	16.7	183	26.7
Give Up	133	58.4	42	21.3	48	48.9	25	50.0	54	54.0	24	50.0	326	45.2
Family & Friends	3	1.3	6	3.0	9	9.2	1	2.0	1	1.0	-	-	20	2.7
Ethnic Org.	6	2.6	11	5.6	2	2.0	-	-	2	2.0	1	2.1	22	3.0
Denial of Discrimi.	15	6.6	9	4.6	8	8.2	3	6.0	3	3.0	4	8.3	42	5.8
Self-Reliance	4	1.8	1	0.5	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	0.9
DK Where to Go	23	10.1	45	22.8	14	14.3	1	2.0	27	27.0	11	22.9	121	16.8
Total	228	100.0	197	100.0	98	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0	48	100.0	721	101.1

TABLE 3.409

Resources Cited for Hypothetical Financial Problems

	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immig. & Citzn		Chinese Immig.& Citzn		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Self-Reliance	28	12.3	6	3.0	14	9.7	32	21.5	80	11.1
Family/Relatives	64	28.1	67	33.8	62	42.8	34	22.8	227	31.5
Ethnic Friends/Org.	41	18.0	21	10.6	13	9.0	34	22.8	109	15.1
Friends (Unspecified)	2	0.9	2	1.0	4	2.8	2	1.3	10	1.4
Unemployed Compensation	-	-	3	1.5	1	0.7	-	-	4	0.6
Bank/Credit Union	37	16.2	73	36.9	24	16.6	13	8.7	147	20.4
Public Aid	23	10.1	17	8.6	12	8.3	4	2.7	56	7.8
Never Thought About it	15	6.6	1	0.5	5	3.4	6	4.0	27	3.8
DK Where to Go	18	7.9	8	4.0	10	6.9	24	16.1	60	8.3
Totals	228	100.0	198	100.0	145	100.0	149	100.0	720	100.0

TABLE 3.410

Resources Used in Hypothetical Marital Problems

Sources of Help	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immig. & Citzn		Chinese Immig. & Citzn		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Work it Out Oneself	71	33.2	34	18.7	38	28.4	44	32.8	187	28.2
Family/Relatives	14	6.5	24	13.2	13	9.7	12	9.0	63	9.5
Friends, Ethnic & Non-Ethnic	17	7.9	15	8.2	21	15.7	8	6.0	61	9.2
Marriage Counselor/Lawyer	16	7.5	42	23.1	15	11.2	7	5.2	80	12.1
Separation or Divorce	37	17.3	6	3.3	3	212	2	1.5	48	7.2
Minister or Priest	12	5.6	18	9.9	9	6.7	4	3.0	43	6.5
Do Nothing	8	3.7	9	4.9	9	6.7	17	12.7	43	6.5
Never Thought About It	18	8.4	7	3.8	15	11.2	14	10.4	54	8.1
DK Where to Go	21	9.8	27	14.8	11	8.2	26	19.4	85	12.8
Totals	214	100.0	182	100.0	134	100.0	134	100.0	664	100.0

Problem Solving Activities in Relation to Actual Problems Experienced

Those respondents who experienced different problems were asked to indicate whether or not they had sought help with the problem. Table 3.411 shows that there are varied patterns of help seeking responses among the groups for different problem areas, however, it is difficult to identify clear trends or patterns.

A total of 1,136 problems were reported to be experienced, but only 357 occasions (31.4%) was help sought. All four groups tend to seek help more frequently when the problem areas were insufficient income and job location (24.6% and 23.5% respectively). Although only a small percentage of respondents experienced problems in obtaining medical service, relatively higher numbers of respondents sought medical service. In comparing the number of times help is sought, in relation to problems experienced for each of the four ethnic groups, the Pilipinos sought help most (40.7%), followed in order by the Japanese (36.3%), the Chinese (29%) and last the Koreans with (25.7%). Since there were few who sought help, and the sources used were so scattered, these variables are not separately tabulated for this report.

Two specific areas of problem solving activity were analyzed. The first of these is the means used by immigrant respondents in obtaining their first job. Table 3.412 shows the various sources used by immigrants for this purpose. The Korean and Pilipino immigrants used public or private non-ethnic organizations to obtain jobs, while the Japanese and Chinese depended heavily upon ethnic and/or personal relationships. It is noteworthy that from 7% to 15% of the immigrants had their employment arranged prior to their immigration. The highest reliance by Koreans and Pilipinos upon non-ethnic organizations may be affected by two factors. Because of higher educational and occupational levels, they may fare better in the open job market; therefore, public or private employment agencies would be more appropriate. Secondly, both communities consist primarily of fairly recent immigrants whose ethnic communities lack the organizational resources to provide employment services, particularly for those in higher occupational levels. The Japanese and Chinese immigrants' use of ethnic organizations, friends and relatives might be due to some combination of lower job entry skills and of the history of the older immigrants who came at a time when public resources were not willing to serve them. However, these remain untested hypotheses which require careful analysis of more inclusive data.

TABLE 3.411

Percentage of Respondents Seeking Help in Each Areas of Problem Experienced*

Problems Experienced Help Sought	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immig. & Citzn		Chinese Immig. & Citzn		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Insufficient Income	89		68		54		44		255	
(Help Sought)	30	33.7	14	20.5	29	53.7	15	31.0	88	34.3
Job Location	77		42		29		30		178	
(Help Sought)	32	41.5	24	57.1	19	65.5	9	30.0	84	47.8
On the Job	54		46		33		29		162	
(Help Sought)	6	11.1	23	50.0	10	30.3	11	38.0	50	30.8
Medical Service	38		10		12		34		94	
(Help Sought)	19	50.0	7	70.0	6	50.0	18	53.0	50	53.0
Locating Housing	39		24		32		27		122	
(Help South)	7	18.0	9	37.5	6	18.7	8	29.6	30	24.6
Adjust. to US	104		46		34		70		254	
(Help Sought)	12	12.0	9	19.5	10	29.4	15	21.4	46	19.0
Family Conflicts	29		13		14		15		71	
(Help Sought)	4	13.7	4	30.7	1	7.1	0	0.0	9	12.6
Total # of Problems Experienced	430	25.7*	249		208		249		1136	
(Total # Help Sought)	110	25.7	90	40.7	81	36.3	76	29.0	357	31.4

*Percentages on each cells are derived by dividing help sought responses by problem experienced in each problem areas. Therefore, the percentage columms do not add up to 100%.

TABLE 3.412

Resources Cited for Obtaining the First Job in the U.S. by Immigrant Respondents*

Sources of Help	Korean Immigrants N	Korean Immigrants %	Pilipino Immigrants N	Pilipino Immigrants %	Japanese Immigrants* N	Japanese Immigrants* %	Chinese Immigrants N	Chinese Immigrants %	Totals N	Totals %
Employment Agency, Priv. & Public	17	9.8	45	18.8	6	6.5	4	3.5	72	11.6
Classfied Ads	42	24.3	75	31.3	9	9.7	9	7.8	135	21.7
Professional Org.	5	2.9	1	0.4	1	1.1	3	2.6	10	1.6
Ethnic Friends/Org.	58	33.5	63	26.3	42	45.2	53	45.7	216	34.7
Non-Ethnic Friends	10	5.8	11	4.6	5	5.4	6	5.2	32	5.1
Family/Relatives	16	9.3	17	7.1	19	20.4	33	28.4	85	13.7
Employment Pre-Arranged	25	14.5	28	11.7	11	11.8	8	6.9	72	11.6
Size of Responses**	173	100.0	240	100.0	93	100.0	116	100.0	622	100.0

* Included in this immigrant category are naturalized Chinese and Japanese citizens.

** Since a respondent can give more than one response, the totals do not correspond with total respondents.

The other area dealt with is child care for children under five when both parents are working (Table 3.413). Among the five choices for child care, day care centers or other outside sources were the least frequently used for day care. The predominant choices were relatives and neighbors, with the single exception of the Chinese immigrants who chose relatives or spouses but no neighbors. The Koreans and Pilipinos are the only groups who showed any use of day care outside of the home. This low use of the day care facilities by these two groups appears to be related to lack of accessibility of such facilities in their neighborhood and not their choice. This can be seen from the comments entered on this question.

Reasons for Not Seeking Help

Since one of the major reasons for this study is to discover what factors prevent Asian individuals from using available resources, those who do not seek help when they have problems were examined separately (see Table 3.414). The major reasons given for not seeking help in all groups are as follows: (1) problems can be solved individually or with the family, (2) problems are not serious enough to need help, and (3) respondents are ignorant of available resources. Lack of communication skills in English which prevented help seeking is particularly high among the Chinese immigrants. The reluctance to disclose one's problems, i.e., "I don't want others to know my problem" is most directly associated with the concept of shame or losing face or face saving, which is found mostly among the Koreans. This same group also expressed the least confidence in the outside organization's ability to help. The Chinese, followed by the Koreans, were highest in the category "did not know where to go." The Japanese and Pilipinos showed a low frequency for this response.

Because the two major reasons given were "no problems" and "did not know where to go", these responses were examined more closely. The "no problem" response was highest (53.4%) among the Japanese citizen group followed in order by Pilipinos (45.7%), Japanese immigrant (39.6%), Chinese citizen (35.2%), Korean (23%), and Chinese immigrant (20.2%). When one combines the "did not know where to go" and "did not know how to seek help because of language barrier," the Chinese immigrants show the highest percentage (49.6%), followed in order by Chinese citizens (30.1%), Koreans (23.7%), Japanese immigrants (13.5%), Japanese citizens (11.1%), and with Pilipinos (6.6%). This finding is consistent

TABLE 3.413

Child Care for Children Under Five When Mothers Work

Type of Care	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Relatives	26	30.6	19	23.2	1	25.0	-	-	6	40.0	5	55.6	57	29.2
Neighbors	20	23.5	20	24.4	1	25.0	-	-	6	40.0	-	-	47	24.1
Day Care Centers	8	9.4	6	7.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	7.2
Spous	30	35.3	33	40.2	1	25.0	-	-	2	13.3	4	44.4	70	35.9
Others	1	1.2	4	4.9	1	25.0	-	-	1	6.7	-	-	7	3.6
Totals	85	100.0	82	100.0	4	100.0	-	-	15	100.0	9	100.0	195	100.0

TABLE 3.414

Reasons Cited for Not Seeking Help by Sex*

Reasons for Not Seeking Help		Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Totals	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No Probblems or Not Serious	M	26	20.5	26	37.1	15	45.5	12	46.2	14	21.9	11	42.3	104	30.1
	F	35	25.2	44	53.0	25	39.7	12	63.2	12	18.5	8	28.6	136	34.3
Solv by Self or with Family	M	50	39.4	36	51.4	12	36.4	11	42.3	18	28.1	7	26.9	134	38.7
	F	45	32.4	31	37.4	25	39.7	5	26.3	11	16.9	6	21.4	123	31.0
Org. Can't Help	M	23	18.1	1	1.4	1	3.0	-	-	5	7.8	3	11.5	33	9.5
	F	7	5.0	3	3,6	3	4.8	-	-	4	6.2	1	3.6	18	4.5
Didn't Want Others to Know	M	11	8.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.9	12	3.5
	F	6	4.3	1	1.2	2	3.2	-	-	1	1.5	1	3.6	11	2.8
Language Barrier	M	1	0.8	-	-	2	6.1	-	-	8	12.5	-	-	11	3.2
	F	13	9.4	1	1.2	3	4.8	1	5.3	11	16.9	5	17.9	34	8.6
DK Where to Go	M	16	12.6	6	8.6	3	9.1	3	11.5	19	29.7	4	15.4	51	14.7
	F	33	23.7	3	3.6	5	7.9	1	5.3	26	40.0	7	25.0	75	18.9
Size of Responses	M	127	100.0	69	100.0	33	100.0	26	100.0	64	100.0	26	100.0	345	
	F	139	100.0	83	100.0	63	100.0	19	100.0	65	100.0	28	100.0	397	

*This question was asked of only those respondents who did not seek help. Additionally, these respondents could give more than one responses to this question, thus the numbers at the two bottom lines do not represent the respondents who responded.

with previously noted findings of English fluency and the stance taken by each group toward various problem situations both hypothetical and real. All respondents in both the "no problem" and "did not know where to go" categories were examined in terms of the demographic variables such as sex, age, marital status, length of residence in the United States and job level. No clear patterns emerge. There is, however, a higher percentage of professionals in the "no problem" group while more unskilled laborers, skilled workers and white collar workers are found among the "did not know where to go" group. A sizable number of skilled and clerical persons are also found among the "no problem" groups, but this appears to be more a function of larger numbers of respondents in these two job categories. More sophisticated analysis techniques will be employed in the future to determine the differences between those who did not seek help because they did not have problems, those who chose self-reliance, and those who did not seek help because they did not know where to go.

In summary, all four groups tend to perceive problems when these are presented on the hypothetical level and have a limited knowledge of resources available for the solving of these problems. However, when this discussion of problem areas is direct to the personal and experiential realms, the groups in general tend either to deny the existence of problems for themselves or use the family or self help methods for solving them. The predominance of answers indicating a lack of knowledge of where to go for help in groups having higher language barriers seems to indicate the need for bilingual services for these groups.

Section V: Service Characteristics and Priorities

Another way to discover what problems are present in a community is to ask what services are considered most important. Survey respondents were asked to rate the importance of each of eight different services on a three point scale. Table 3.501 shows those services considered either very important or important by each of the four Asian groups. It can be seen from this table that legal aid services represents the highest single service desired by all groups. The only exception to this is the Chinese group where bilingual referral services and English conversation classes take precedence over legal services. There is a discrepancy between this result and the responses given in other parts of the questionnaire. In none of the questions about problem perception did respondents give legal issues as a problem. It may be that this statement of need for legal services is more an expression of helplessness and powerlessness experienced by Asians in the United States since so many business and personal interactions are governed by and resolved through legal procedures. Respondents may not have experienced legal problems themselves; however, they may have heard of traumatic experiences of others which resulted from a lack of legal information and/or service. Being aware of the penalty for this lack of information, they would give the availability of legal service a high priority.

When the services are considered according to the percentage of persons considering that particular service important, all four groups give high rating for legal service, English conversation classes, bilingual referral services, and new-comer services. The age distribution within each community shows up particularly in the differences concerning child care services. This has high priority for the Korean and Pilipino groups and is the lowest in priority for the Japanese. Over half of the Chinese and two fifths of the Pilipinos rate employment services or vocational training as very important. Twenty-six to 36% of the respondents in all four groups give importance to mental health services. The figures for public aid services are about the same for all groups except the Chinese, who consider this service important more often than any other group. It is noteworthy that the Chinese give all services a larger number of "important" designation than the other three groups.

Although English conversation classes are dominant for the Korean and Chinese groups, two thirds of the Japanese respondents consider such a service

TABLE 3.501

Services Considered Important*

Types of Services	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immig. & Citzn		Chinese Immig. Citzn		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Child Care Centers	102	44.7	110	55.8	28	18.7	62	41.6	302	
English Conversation Class	139	61.2	93	46.7	50	33.3	94	63.1	376	
Mental Health Service	82	36.0	57	28.6	39	26.0	50	33.8	228	
Employment Service	74	32.5	82	41.2	45	30.0	83	55.7	284	
Vocational Training	71	31.1	83	41.9	43	28.7	80	55.7	277	
Public Aid	84	36.8	63	31.8	39	26.2	90	60.4	276	
Bilingual Referral Service	98	43.0	87	44.2	55	36.7	105	70.5	345	
Legal Aid Service	151	66.2	116	58.6	68	45.3	90	60.8	425	
Size of Responses	801		691		367		654		2513	

*Percentages on each cell was derived in relation to total respondents in each ethnic group, therefore, the percentage total at the bottom of columms do not add up to 100%.

to be unimportant. It is interesting to note that the Pilipino group, which manifests a relatively high degree of English fluency, rates English classes important (46.7%). This seems to indicate a need for different levels and kinds of English classes for different groups of Asian immigrants.

Service Characteristics

Respondents were asked to rank service delivery characteristics in the order of most important to least important. Table 3.502 shows the ranking of five characteristics with number one being the most important and five being the least important. The agency staff's willingness to help is the top priority for all the groups. The existence of bilingual staff is second for all except the Pilipinos. When these two high ranking characteristics are separated for analysis, the relative importance of bilingual staff to the Chinese is evident.

In summary, it would seem that the Asian communities rank legal services provided by a helpful, bilingual and (if possible) staff as the highest priority. In addition the Pilipino and the Korean communities want child care services, while the Chinese community needs economically oriented services such as employment agencies, vocational training, and public aid. Compared to the other three groups, the Japanese seem to be least in need of services of any type. This finding is consistent with the results described earlier for problem perception and problem solving activities. It is highly possible that the existence of Japanese bilingual and bicultural multi-service agencies in Chicago contributes to this low response on service needs.

Lack of data from a comparable general population regarding perceived and experienced problems, means of problem solving, public service utilization, make it difficult to place this study in proper perspective. In fact, one of the reasons for this survey has been to compile data in these areas that others might use for comparative studies. Nevertheless, the data obtained clearly indicate the existence of many areas of needs and lack of sufficient services in the Asian communities of Chicago.

TABLE 3.502

Service Characteristics Considered Important by Respondents

Service Characteristic	Korean Immigrants		Pilipino Immigrants		Japanese Immigrants		Japanese Citizens		Chinese Immigrants		Chinese Citizens		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bilingual Staff	77	33.7	7	3.5	39	41.0	2	4.1	54	54.5	22	44.9	201	28.1
Helpfulness of Staff	95	41.6	122	62.2	40	42.2	30	61.2	31	31.3	16	32.6	334	46.6
Convenient Access to Agencies	22	9.6	25	12.8	8	8.4	6	12.2	6	6.0	6	12.2	73	10.2
Confidentiality	15	6.6	25	12.8	5	5.2	6	12.2	6	6.0	3	6.1	60	8.3
Service Fee	19	8.3	17	8.6	3	3.1	5	10.2	2	2.0	2	4.1	48	6.7
Totals	228	99.8	196	99.9	95	99.9	49	99.9	99	99.8	49	99.9	716	99.9

IV CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This survey was undertaken, not only to gather information on the social conditions of Asians in Chicago, but also to provide a basis for the planning and action necessary to build a strong and viable Chicago Asian community. It explored the needs and problems of both recent immigrants and citizens. Several studies indicated little use of either public or private service organizations by Asian Americans in spite of observable problems and needs.

Data on the four Asian immigrant groups (Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Pilipino) and the two citizen groups (Chinese and Japanese) was gathered by interview. The demographic characteristics of the respondents, their views on a variety of subjects and their experiences as ethnic minority group members living in Chicago were all discussed in the interview. Respondents were asked what they considered to be problem areas for themselves and for their ethnic group. They were asked about ways of dealing with problem situations, both real and hypothetical. Respondents were asked to give their opinions with respect to the importance of different types of service and the nature of an acceptable service delivery system.

To briefly summarize the significant findings, the recent influx of highly trained young adults from Korea and the Philippines to the Chicago area is reflected in their higher education and occupational levels when compared with the Chinese and Japanese groups which contain recent immigrants, naturalized citizens and American born second and third generation citizens. The higher level of education, occupation, and income of the Korean and Pilipino groups does not mean, however, that they are free from problems. Both groups expressed job-related discrimination and dissatisfaction. Downward mobility among Korean and Pilipino professionals became evident when current occupational level was compared with that for jobs held previously in their home country.

As groups, the Korean and Pilipino respondents were younger in age than the Chinese and Japanese. They also tended to have more young children in the household. Coupled with this is a higher tendency in the Korean and Pilipino samples for mothers to work outside the home. This probably accounts for the importance given to day care services by these groups. The women in Korean and Pilipino groups not only showed a higher rate of participation in the labor force (nearly two thirds), they also had higher numbers of women in professional jobs than did the Chinese and Japanese groups. This was true for the 1970 census as well for the current sample.

The Chinese respondents in this sample had lower socio-economic status than the other groups for this sample and for the 1970 national figures. They had lower educational, occupational, income and English proficiency levels than did the three other groups. There also were more respondents in the Chinese sample who did not know where to go or what to do in dealing with real problems or with the hypothetical problem situations that were presented in the interviews.

The Japanese group, whose socio-economic characteristics approximate those of 1970 national data, showed a tendency toward reliance on families and ethnic organizations for dealing with problem situations. This reliance on ethnic organizations may be related to the presence of well established service oriented agencies for the Japanese in Chicago.

There were more Chinese and Japanese who refused to be interviewed, and a much higher percentage of the two citizen groups (Chinese and Japanese) refused to state family income. These group and status (citizen vs. immigrants) differences with respect to participation in the survey and sharing personal information need to be examined more closely because such differences can be expected to influence service utilization.

An unexpectedly high number (over half) of the immigrant respondents had relatives residing in Chicago; however, this fact taken alone need not indicate the presence of a family support system. It is probable that among the Chinese, Korean and Pilipino immigrants these relatives may also be recent immigrants undergoing the same adjustment problems (cf Table 3.101). Over 80% of the immigrants had someone help them settle when they first arrived in Chicago. About one half of them, in all groups except the Chinese, received assistance from non-relatives, indicating the presence of a helping network even if it may not be adequate or formalized. It is of particular importance for human service planners to determine the adequacy and appropriateness of such informal and ad hoc assistance. A future study needs to focus on this informal assistance network in the Asian communities.

There is a general consistency between the perception of potential problems and the actual problems experienced by the respondents. The Chinese and the Korean groups perceived and experienced most difficulties in the areas of language and life style differences. The Japanese and Pilipinos also expressed difficulties in these same areas but at a lower rate. These last two groups expressed a considerably higher degree of difficulty in the area of discrimination than did the Korean and Chinese groups. This may be as much due to a greater awareness on the part of the Japanese and Pilipino groups of discriminatory practices (due to their greater English proficiency) than an indication that less discrimination is experienced by Chinese and Koreans. Problems related to lack of money and to underemployment were expressed by all four groups. All of these data support the hypothesis that segments of the Asian American communities experience serious socio-economic, employment, and psychological problems for which remedial services are not readily available.

A sense of powerlessness and isolation was found in all four groups but most prominantly among the Chinese and the Koreans who often felt nothing could be done about discrimination. All four groups tended to turn to self, families, or ethnic friends in problem situations. Special attention must be paid to those Chinese respondents who did not know where to go as well as to the Korean respondents who expressed skepticism of the efficacy of any helping organization. If human service planners are to provide appropriate and effective services in these communities, they definitely need to know the cause of this ignorance and skepticism.

The stereotype of Asians in America as uncomplaining and stoic minority groups who keep problems to themselves and rely upon themselves finds partial validation in these data. Nearly half of the respondents said that nothing could be done about discrimination and that they would turn to ethnic friends or organizations when they did not have enough money or when they experienced a medical or psychiatric emergency. The question is why are these ethnically introverted and passive responses so common? Is it because of an ingrained cultural trait or is it a defense against the racism in this country which has consistently discriminated against and oppressed Asians and other minority groups? Partial answers to such questions may be found in the responses to both the real and hypothetical problem situation questions. Not knowing where to go, lack of the English proficiency necessary for seeking help, and skepticism about the effectiveness of available help, all provide important clues about why Asian persons choose to rely on themselves even when such self-reliance results in more suffering and proves to be hazardous and/or clostly.

Of particular significance is the high priority given to legal services by all four groups. As discussed earlier, this may express the sense of powerlessness in Asian respondents who recognize their need for legal counsel and protection for survival in this society. All groups, but particularly the Chinese and the Koreans, wanted English classes and bilingual staffed services. These priority assignments of legal services, English classes, and bilingually staffed service delivery systems have direct bearing on the development of ethnically oriented service programs for the Asian communities in Chicago. They underscore the necessity for such services.

The high value placed upon "helpful staff persons" as the most important factor influencing the use of services has profound implications for service delivery systems outside the Asian community. Asian respondents seem to recognize the reality that not all of their needs can be met within their own ethnic community. They therefore say that they would accept "helpful staff persons" who may not be Asian or bilingual, but who would extend themselves to overcome the language and cultural barriers. It seems to indicate that the respondents to this survey are willing to seek and use public agencies if they find that a helpful climate is present.

It appears then that the problem is the insensitivity and inaccessibility of existing service delivery systems, not "hard to reach" clients.[1] It is not the "self-sufficiency" of Asian persons that accounts for the "underutilization" of existing services.[2] The findings should dispel any myths or stereotypes of Asians as successful, self-sufficient and having no problems. It is true that there are some Asians who are "successful", problem-free and/or able to handle problems with their own resources just as with any group of people. The crucial fact is that there are Asian persons who are poor, who encounter problems in living which they can not resolve by themselves, and who feel hopeless and powerless in dealing with discrimination.

Conventional criteria for determining discrimination and disadvantage do not take into account factors unique to non-English speaking minorities. Lack of English profiency as a disadvantage is an unfamilar concept for human service workers and the general public in the United States. The disadvantage accruing from this lack is clearly demonstrated in this survey. It affects job levels, income, problem solving behavior, resource utilization, and self-esteem of Asian persons.

Comparing these findings with reports from east and west coast Asian communities concerning their members' socio-economic status, the Asians in Chicago seem to fare better with the exception of the Chinese who stand out as

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1. Kahn, Alfred. "Perspectives on Access to Social Services" Social Work, Vol., 15, No. 2, (April 1970), pp 95-101.

2. Owan, Thomas. "Asian Americans: A Case of Benighted Neglect and the Urgent Need for Affirmative Action", Paper presented at the 101st National Conference of Social Welfare, May 1975, San Francisco, Calif.

having lower socio-economic indicators and limited problem solving resources. This observation is offered to caution against generalizing these findings to all Asian immigrants and Asian Americans in the United States. The most outstanding characteristic of the Asian population in the United States is their ethnic diversity, their regional differences, and disparate orientations among the generations within each group. They share the disadvantaged status of colored minority group members and suffer from the lack of differentiation of Asian groups by the dominant society.

The recommendations for action which follow are primarily pertinent to the Asians in the Chicago area although it is recognized that many of them will have equal value and applicability for Asian communities in other parts of the United States.

Recommendations

1. Establish an Asian Desk in the Governor's (Illinois), Mayor's (Chicago), and DHEW Regional Director's Offices. This Asian Desk would inform Asian communities about the programs and benefits available from the federal, state and city government. These offices could respond to inquiries and grievances from members of the Asian communities and take appropriate action. The second function of these offices would be to educate and inform officials of governmental units about the concerns and problems of the Asian communities.
2. Organize two types of English classes; 1) job-related English and 2) English needed for daily functioning in the United States. The teachers for both programs should be bilingual and bicultural. The method used should be bilingual one since the method called "English as a Second Lanauge" has proved to be ineffective for teaching English to older children and adults.[1] Easy access in terms of location and time, appropriate and relevant content and acceptability of instruction based on teachers' attitudes and understanding of the backgrounds and aspiration of their students, are all crucial ingredients for effective programs.

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[1] This information is based upon comments received from adult members of Korean and Chinese communities in Los Angeles who have attended English classes. They commented upon a rapid attrition rate of students in their classes as well as the patronizing and insensitive attitudes of the teachers who were non-Asians.

3. Organize Multi-Service Centers for each ethnic group with the following services:
   a. Legal Aid
   b. Information and Referral Service
   c. Day Care
   d. Public Health
   e. Educational Programs
      (1) Orientation programs for new immigrants and consumer-oriented information.
      (2) Cultural and recreational programs to maintain bilingual bicultural orientation of Asians. Such activities have been considered to contribute significantly to maintain cultural identity and self-esteem.
      (3) Community leadership training, group discussions and lectures about the latest rules and regulations which affect communities and their members, with effective political participation as a major goal.

As with all studies and recommendations the activity becomes meaningless unless it leads to the development of programs and the implementation of the recommendations. This is particularly true of this study which was undertaken explicitly to provide necessary information to be used for program development.

It is our hope that this report will be used to generate programs and services. For this to occur, community members must take an active part presenting and using these findings to press for the implementation of programs for the Asian communities by the responsible governmental units.

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